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The Millerite adventists and other Millenarian groups in Great Britain 1830-1860.

Dunton, Hugh Ivor Brian

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THE MILLERITE ADVENTISTS
AND OTHER MILLENARIAN GROUPS
IN GREAT BRITAIN
1830 - 1860

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Thesis submitted to the University of London
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS

The dissertation examines the followers of William Miller, the Millerites, and some analogous groups in Britain. A study of some religious thought patterns provides a framework in which to place the Millerites and their cognates. The second chapter studies the system of interpretation of prophecy that underlay millenarian thought in the period, including William Miller's. An outline of the Millerite movement in the United States, already fully covered in other works, provides a setting for the work in Britain. The fourth chapter is a narrative of events from 1840 to 1848. Taken largely from Millerite sources, it shows a movement that may have attracted several thousand members, but lacked leadership and cohesion. Successive disconfirmations of second advent predictions discouraged the members. The methods employed by the Millerites showed some variations from those of contemporary itinerant preachers. A considerable amount of literature was produced. Millerites both in Britain and America were noted, generally unsympathetically, in the British religious and secular press. Relationships with clergy of other persuasions were surprisingly extensive, in this respect differentiating the Millerites from most restorationist groups. Some speakers and writers treated them as serious opponents rather than ridiculing them. The social composition and religious background of the Millerites appears typical of most of the restorationist groups examined. Millerite teachings are studied to discover the content, and if the teaching developed over the years. British Millerism, as American, had many theological strands. The Mormons, Churches of Christ, Christadelphians and the Catholic Apostolic Church provide comparisons with the Millerites, particularly on the

question of why they survived and the Millerites faded away. The final chapter suggests that vagueness of doctrine, weakening of the American base and the impact of new teaching at a time of discouragement disintegrated the movement, although small groups lingered for at least two decades.

This is the first detailed study of Millerism in Britain and has drawn on sources hitherto unused in this connection.

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A special debt is due to those who turned manuscript into typescript, wearying revisions notwithstanding, and to the technical skills, patience and great generosity of Mr Arthur Dyason and Miss Cheryl Dyason and of the directors of D.P.S. for word-processing and printing.

ABBREVIATIONS

Full bibliographical details of each work are given in the first reference in the notes and in the Bibliography. In this list of abbreviations only sufficient information is given for ready recognition. Dissertations are indicated by (D).

Adventist, <u>Importance</u>	An Adventist, <u>The Importance of the Doctrine of the First Resurrection</u>
<u>Advent Review</u>	<u>Second Advent Review and Sabbath Herald</u>
<u>AH</u>	<u>Advent Herald</u>
<u>AHBA</u>	<u>Advent Harbinger and Bible Advocate</u>
<u>AHMA</u>	<u>Advent Harbinger and Midnight Alarm</u>
<u>Ambassador</u>	<u>Ambassador of the Coming Age</u>
Arthur, 'Come Out'	D.T.Arthur, 'Come Out of Babylon: A Study of Separation and Denominationalism, 1840-1865'(D)
Arthur, 'Himes'	D.T.Arthur, 'Josiah V.Himes and the Cause of Adventism, 1839-1845' (D)
AV	Authorised Version
<u>Bible Advocate</u>	<u>Bible Advocate and Precursor of Unity</u>
<u>Bible Advocate</u> (H)	<u>Bible Advocate</u> (Hartford, CT)
Billington, 'Churches of Christ'	L.Billington, 'The Churches of Christ in Britain: A Study in Nineteenth-Century Sectarianism'
Billington, 'Millerite Adventists'	L.Billington, 'The Millerite Adventists in Great Britain, 1840-1850'
Billington, 'Revivalism'	L.Billington, 'Popular Religion and Social Reform: A Study of Revivalism and Teetotalism, 1830-50'
Bliss, <u>Memoirs</u>	S.Bliss, <u>Memoirs of William Miller</u>
<u>Bristol Times</u>	<u>Bristol Times and Bath Advocate</u>
<u>Brit.Mill.Harb.</u>	<u>British Millennial Harbinger</u>

Carwardine	<u>R.J.Carwardine, Transatlantic Revivalism: Popular Evangelicalism in Britain and America, 1790-1865</u>
<u>CEQR</u>	<u>Church of England Quarterly Review</u>
<u>CFF</u>	<u>L.E.Froom, The Conditionalist Faith of Our Fathers</u>
<u>CM</u>	<u>Christian Messenger and Reformer</u>
<u>CMFM</u>	<u>Christian Messenger and Family Magazine</u>
Coad, <u>Brethren</u>	<u>F.R.Coad, A History of the Brethren Movement</u>
Cross	<u>W.R.Cross, The Burned-Over District</u>
Damsteegt	<u>P.G.Damsteegt, Foundations of the Seventh-day Adventist Message and Mission</u>
<u>DNB</u>	<u>Dictionary of National Biography</u>
Davidson, <u>Logic</u>	<u>J.W.Davidson, The Logic of Millennial Thought: Eighteenth Century New England</u>
<u>EAH</u>	<u>European Advent Herald</u>
<u>Expositor and Advocate</u>	<u>Prophetic Expositor and Bible Advocate</u>
<u>FFBJ</u>	<u>Felix Farley's Bristol Journal</u>
Ford	<u>D.Ford, Daniel</u>
Gaustad	<u>E.S. Gaustad, editor, The Rise of Adventism</u>
Gilbert, 'Growth and Decline'	<u>A.D.Gilbert, 'The Growth and Decline of Non-conformity in England and Wales' (D)</u>
Gilbert, <u>Religion and Society</u>	<u>A.D.Gilbert, Religion and Society in Industrial England; Church, Chapel and Social Change, 1740-1914</u>
Hale, <u>SAM</u>	<u>A.Hale, Second Advent Manual</u>
<u>Herald of the Kingdom</u>	<u>Herald of the Kingdom and Age to Come</u>
<u>IDB</u>	<u>Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible</u>
Inglis, <u>Churches... Working Classes</u>	<u>K.S.Inglis, Churches and Working classes in Victorian England</u>
<u>JEH</u>	<u>Journal of Ecclesiastical History</u>
<u>LDSMS</u>	<u>Latter Day Saints Millennial Star</u>

Lindén, <u>Biblicism</u>	I.Lindén, <u>Biblicism, Apocalyptik, Utopi: Adventisms Historiska Utformning samt dess Svenska Utveckling till o. 1939</u>
Lindén, <u>Trump</u>	I.Lindén, <u>The Last Trump</u>
Lively	R.L.Lively, 'The Catholic Apostolic Church and the Latter Day Saints' (D)
<u>MC</u>	<u>Midnight Cry</u> (NY)
<u>MCN</u>	<u>Midnight Cry</u> (Nottingham)
<u>MW</u>	<u>Morning Watch</u> (NY)
<u>NEB</u>	<u>New English Bible</u>
Nichol	F.D.Nichol, <u>Midnight Cry</u>
<u>NIV</u>	<u>New International Version</u>
Oliver	W.H.Oliver, <u>Prophets and Millennialists</u>
Orchard	S.C.Orchard, 'English Evangelical Eschatology, 1790-1850' (D)
<u>PFF</u>	L.E.Froom, <u>Prophetic Faith of our Fathers</u>
<u>Plymouth DSH</u>	<u>Plymouth Devonport and Stonehouse Herald</u>
<u>Plymouth DWJ</u>	<u>Plymouth and Devonport Weekly Journal</u>
<u>Prophetic Herald</u>	<u>Prophetic Herald and Churchman's Witness for Christ</u>
PRO	Public Record Office
<u>QJP</u>	<u>Quarterly Journal of Prophecy</u>
Rowdon, <u>Brethren</u>	H.H.Rowdon, <u>The Origins of the Brethren</u>
Sandeen	E.R.Sandeen, <u>The Roots of Fundamentalism</u>
<u>SAH</u>	<u>Second Advent Harbinger</u>
<u>SAL</u>	<u>Second Advent Library</u>
Schwarz, <u>Light Bearers</u>	R.W.Schwarz, <u>Light Bearers to the Remnant</u>
<u>SDA</u>	Seventh-day Adventist(s)
<u>SDABC</u>	<u>Seventh-day Adventist Bible Commentary</u>
<u>ST</u>	<u>Signs of the Times</u> (Boston)
<u>TDNT</u>	<u>Theological Dictionary of the New Testament</u>

<u>Theol. Lit. & Jnl</u>	<u>Theological and Literary Journal</u>
Thorp, 'Mormon Converts'	M.R.Thorp, 'The Religious Background of the Mormon Converts in Britain, 1837-52'
<u>Time of the End</u>	<u>Time of the End and Prophetic Witness for Christ</u>
<u>Trewman's Exeter FP</u>	<u>Trewman's Exeter Flying Post</u>
Tuveson	E.R.Tuveson, <u>Redeemer Nation: The Idea of America's Millennial Role</u>
<u>VTGT</u>	<u>Voice of Truth and Glad Tidings</u>
Watters, 'History'	A.C.Watters, 'History of the British Churches of Christ' (D)
Wellcome	I.C.Wellcome, <u>History of the Second Advent Message and Mission, Doctrine and People</u>
Weller	J.C.Weller, 'The Revival of Religion in Nottingham, 1780-1850' (D)
Wilson, 'Social Aspects'	B.R.Wilson, 'Social Aspects of Religious Sects: a study of some contemporary groups in Great Britain' (D)
Wilson, 'British Israelism'	J.Wilson, 'The History and Organisation of British Israelism: Some Aspects of the Religious and Political Correlates of Changing Social Status' (D)

INTRODUCTION AND DEFINITIONS

Minority religious groups are increasingly attracting the attention of both historians and sociologists. The minorities may appear eccentric, tragic, amusing, or enlightened, according to the tenets of the groups, and of their biographers and analysts.

An investigation of millenarianism will invite comparison with the work of J.F.C.Harrison, The Second Coming and W.H.Oliver, Prophets and Millennialists, who have covered a wide range of ideas within a limited period. Bryan Wilson, 'Social Aspects of Religious Sects: a study of some contemporary groups in Great Britain', considers the early history of the Christadelphians. Robert Lee Lively, 'The Catholic Apostolic Church and the Latter Day Saints: a comparative study of two minority groups in nineteenth century England' and John Wilson, 'The History and Organization of British Israelism: Some Aspects of the Religious and Political Correlates of Changing Social Status', provide direct comparison with this consideration of William Miller. The discussion of the exegetical ancestors of Millerism has inevitably overlapped and been influenced by the work of Stephen C. Orchard, 'English Evangelical Eschatology, 1790-1850', and John A. Oddy, 'Eschatological Prophecy in the English Theological Tradition, c. 1700 - c. 1840'. Both of these writers have analysed a series of writers who sought an explanation of the future in the light of Bible prophecy. Jonathan Gallagher's, 'Believing Christ's Return: An Interpretative Analysis of the Dynamics of Christian Hope', appeared too late markedly to affect this writer's approach and conclusions. It is valuable in setting the Millerites in

the context of traditional Christian expectations.

This work draws on a wide range of sources, but has not attempted an analysis of all the writers cited and their relationships. Biographical sketches of most of the nineteenth century writers on prophecy can be found in Leroy E. Froom, The Prophetic Faith of Our Fathers, especially volumes III and IV. Although his writing is coloured by his views, Froom is remarkably accurate in his citations, as has been confirmed by this writer when checking sources.² Where periodicals are quoted without any author mentioned it is usually because many of these journals carried unsigned features.

To explain Millerism, the other movements discussed in this work, or any other faith and body of believers, is to take a stance concerning the veracity of the teaching and the validity of the experience. Economic or political forces, deep-seated psychological sets (e.g., 'matrism' and 'patrism'), or the Zeitgeist (that explanation that explains nothing)³ may be used as human explanations. Some Christians will see the Millerites as a religious aberration, a set-back to the progress of the gospel. Others see the movement as ordained of God as a herald of the second advent. As the spiritual forbears of the family of Adventist churches, the Millerites of America cannot be, and have not

1. Harrison (1979); Oliver (Auckland N.Z., 1978); Bryan Wilson (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of London, 1955); Lively (unpublished D.Phil. dissertation, University of Oxford, 1975); J.Wilson (unpublished D.Phil. dissertation, Oxford, 1966); Orchard (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Cambridge, 1969); Oddy (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of London, 1982); Gallagher (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of St Andrews, 1983).
2. (Hereafter PFF), 4 vols (Washington, DC, 1946-54).
3. G. Rattray Taylor, The Angel Makers (1958), pp.xi,xii; E.P.Thompson, The Making of the English Working Class (Harmondsworth, 1976), p.409; James D. G. Dunn, Jesus and the Spirit (1975), pp.158-63.

been ignored. This study may show that the British Millerites were also of some consequence in their day and are of interest today.

There is a tension in the New Testament between the imminence of the advent and its delay. Christ warned that wars would come, 'but the end is not yet' (Matthew 24.6). The Thessalonians were advised not to believe that the day had already come. Sinister developments must precede the advent (II Thessalonians 2.1, 2). The apparent delay was a display of God's forbearance (II Peter 3.8-10). Historically, the parousia, the most commonly used term for the coming of Christ, has been understood in at least seven ways: Christ's resurrection, the coming of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost, the destruction of Jerusalem (often combined with the previous view), successive comings in judgment at times of historical crisis, the death of the believer, the historical-critical approach, which treats the teaching in the light of inter-testamental Jewish expectation, and lastly, the belief in a literal second advent.⁴ Some interpreters have distinguished between the parousia and the epiphaneia as distinct eschatological events.⁵

Much of the terminology used in discussions of prophetic interpretation needs definition if it is to be intelligible to the non-specialist and precise to the specialist. The following list introduces terms as they will be used in this work.

4. Article 'Parousia' in Dictionary of the Bible, edited by James Hastings (Edinburgh, 1929), p.682; Alan Richardson, An Introduction to the Theology of the New Testament (1958), pp.53-56; Joachim Jeremias, The Parables of Jesus (1972), pp.48-63; *idem*, New Testament Theology, I (1971), 122-31; The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, edited by G.E. Buttrick (Nashville, TN, 1972-76, reprinted 1980), V, 271-77.
5. W. E. Vine, An Expository Dictionary of New Testament Words (1975), I, 66, 208; IDB, III, 658-61; Theological Dictionary of the New Testament, edited by Gerhard Kittel and Gerhard Friedrich, translated by Geoffrey W. Bromiley, 10 vols (Grand Rapids, MI, 1967), V, 863-71.

Adventists, according to Josiah Litch, a follower of William Miller, believed in the end of the world, the destruction of the wicked and the descent of the new Jerusalem at the beginning of the thousand years. They did not believe in the return of the Jews to Palestine. There was no probation after the advent. The Millerites were not wholly consistent in their usage as they accorded the title Adventist to some English writers who might more accurately be called millenarians.⁶ In this work Adventist is used with particular reference to the followers of Miller.

Amillennialism. St Augustine of Hippo sought to solve the problem of eschatology by postulating that the millennium had already begun. It would continue until the three and a half year reign of antichrist which would be terminated by the second advent. This view has sometimes been included under postmillennialism. The Augustinian view became the accepted teaching of the Roman Catholic church, but was challenged from time to time prior to the Reformation, notably by Joachim of Fiore.⁷

Anglican is used as an alternative form for Church of England and does not indicate sympathy with Anglo-Catholicism.

Apocalyptic. Related to the final judgment and second advent; scriptures dealing with this theme.

Apotelesmatic principle is a technical term for the idea that prophecies may have more than one application. The principle is recognized by conservative scholars in the use of messianic prophecies with a local and a fuller application, e.g., Isaiah 9.6. It has also

6. P. Gerard Damsteegt, Foundations of the Seventh-day Adventist Message and Mission (Grand Rapids, MI, 1977), pp.30-31.
7. Ernest L. Tuveson, Redeemer Nation: the Idea of America's Millennial Role (Chicago, 1968), pp.33-34; PFF, I, 473-91; Marjorie Reeves, Joachim of Fiore and the Prophetic Future (1976).

been applied to such symbols as the little horn(s) of Daniel 7 and 8, so that Antiochus Ephiphanes is the immediate, and some other power the later manifestation. The terms primary and secondary application are avoided as upholders of the principle would not necessarily accept any priority of application, except chronological.⁸

Chiliasm was little used in the nineteenth century. It is sometimes used as a variant for millenarianism and may have a negative connotation.⁹

Conditionalism or conditional immortality are used for the belief that the human soul is not inherently immortal, but receives immortality only by faith in Christ. Conditionalism also teaches the unconscious-ness of the dead between death and the resurrection of the body.¹⁰

Epiphaneia. The appearing of Christ in connection with the second advent.

Eschatology, a nineteenth century term for that branch of systematic theology which speaks of death, the intermediate state and the resurrection of the dead, is generally used in this work to mean apocalyptic eschatology, replacing prophetic eschatology as it was realized that the chances of good triumphing within the present order grew less. God's final acts were viewed not as taking place 'within political structures and historical events, but as deliverance out of

8. Desmond Ford, Daniel (Nashville, TN, 1978), pp.31, 49, 58, 69, 289-94; T. R. Birks, The Two Later Visions of Daniel (1846), pp.148-71; William H. Shea, 'The Apotelesmatic Principle: Philosophy, Practice and Purpose' (paper prepared for the SDA Biblical Research Committee, 1981).
9. PFF, II, 566, IV, 418; D. H. Kromminga, The Millennium in the Church (Grand Rapids, MI, 1945), pp.179, 236-68; 'The Apostolicity of Chiliasm', Quarterly Journal of Prophecy (hereafter QJP), 1 (1848-49), 105-13.
10. Leroy Edwin Froom, The Conditionalist Faith of Our Fathers (hereafter CFF), 2 vols (Washington, DC, 1965-66), I, 17-25.

the present order into a new transformed order'.¹¹ W. Dow summed it up:
 'The hope is, this grand act of God, the sending of Jesus Christ - the
 kingdom ... things cannot go on as they are much longer'.¹²

Futurist. Francisco Ribera (1537-1591), a Jesuit of Salamanca, was the founder of the futurist school of interpretation, which was developed by Robert Bellarmine (1542-1621). The latter explicitly attacked the year-day principle, which was the key to the historicist understanding. George Beasley-Murray writes that futurism was the view of the earliest centuries of the church. However, Desmond Ford points out that 'these positions were taken ... on the grounds that Christ was about to come and that therefore all the prophecies that were foretold had to be condensed into a few short years'.¹³ Oddy's account of early nineteenth century futurism lists eight important writers. The futurist school scored its greatest success in the modified form of Dispensation-¹⁴alism.

Historicist strictly speaking belongs to both pre- and post-millennialism, but has tended to be taken over by premillennialists in view of the decline of postmillennialism as an actively promoted doctrine. The historicist or historical system of interpretation stresses the continuity of prophecy, reaching from the time of writing to the end of time. 'It seems to be indisputable that the book (Revelation) does speak of things past, present and future'.¹⁵ In this

11. IDB, V, 29-30, 271; Eschatology tends to be used in contemporary theology for the present hope, Dictionary of New Testament Theology, edited by Colin Brown, 3 vols (Exeter, 1975-78), I, 56.
12. Church of England Quarterly Review (hereafter CEQR), 21(1847), 490, citing The Church's Hope in the First Century; its Hope also in the Nineteenth. A Sermon preached...1847 (Edinburgh, 1847).
13. PFF, II, 489-93; New Catholic Encyclopedia (Washington, DC, 1967), XII, 467; George R. Beasley-Murray, cited in Ford, pp.65, 67.
14. Oddy, 'Eschatological Prophecy', pp.94-179; F. Roy Coad, A History of the Brethren Movement (1968), pp.128-41.
15. Henry Alford, quoted in Ford, p.68.

work historicist will be used to apply to all who believed the apocalyptic books were predictive, but excluding dispensationalism and other forms of futurism as well as preterism which is excluded by definition. The historicist school, whether pre- or postmillennialist, may be subdivided. The continuous-historical view saw the prophetic messages of Revelation as a sequence of events in a straight line culminating in the eschaton. Other expositors were recapitulationists, understanding for example the seals and trumpets and in some instances¹⁶ the letters and vials as parallel, not consecutive sequences.

Literalist. T.R.Birks drew the distinction between the two interpretations: 'the literal...rests simply on God's veracity...the figurative...is based chiefly on the ingenuity of man; which represents the God of truth as fulfilling his threatenings in a letter, but¹⁷ provides an excuse why his promises need not be so fulfilled'. The term came to be associated particularly with those who understood such passages as Isaiah 65 as having a future fulfilment in the history of the Jews. An American periodical entitled The Literalist reprinted¹⁸ nothing but English writers of this persuasion.

Millennialism will be used in this study for the belief in the gradual triumph of Christian principles, culminating in the millennium. In practice this is usually postmillennialism, as the second advent

16. A Symposium on Biblical Hermeneutics, edited by Gordon M. Hyde (Washington, DC, 1974), p.101; Kenneth A. Strand, Interpreting the Book of Revelation (Ann Arbor, MI, 1976), p.12; CEQR, 20 (1846), 199; on John Hooper, T. R. Birks, J. H. Frere, W. B. Galloway, and E. B. Elliott in CEQR, 25 (1849), 253; QJP, (1848-49), 102; 'The Apocalypse', CEQR, 21 (1847), 257-96.
17. T. R. Birks in Israel Restored: or the Spiritual Claims of the Jews upon the Christian Church, edited by W. R. Fremantle (1841), pp.48, 52, 58-63, 72-73.
18. The Literalist, edited by Orrin Rogers, 5 vols (Philadelphia, 1840-42); James W. Davidson uses the term for eighteenth century writers, The Logic of Millennial Thought: Eighteenth Century New England (New Haven, CT, 1977), p.273.

follows the years of peace. However, some believers in millennialism may not believe in a second advent.

Millenarianism will be used for belief in the imminent physical return of Jesus Christ. The millenarians are, generally speaking, premillennialists, that is, the second coming inaugurates the thousand years. There has been little consistency in the use of terms. The movements discussed by Oliver as millennialism are called millenarian by
19
Harrison.

Parousia. The second advent of Christ.

Postmillennialism. In the eighteenth century Daniel Whitby (1638-1726) and Campegius Vitringa (1659-1722) put forward the view that the second advent would occur after a thousand year period of blessedness, still in the future. The conversion of the world would prepare the way for Messiah's reign. This view was spread by well-known writers and commentators including Jonathan Edwards, Albert Barnes, Thomas Scott, Matthew Henry, and David Brown. Postmillennialism was the most common form of prophetic understanding in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. The belief that the work of the church could hasten the millennium was particularly appealing to Arminians, and may be one
20
factor in holding the Methodists largely to postmillennialist views.

Premillennialist has been explained in previous paragraphs.

Preterist. Luis de Alcazar (1554-1613), a Jesuit, argued that the prophecies were already fulfilled and the triumphant church of Revelation 21 was the Catholic church. The preterist school was to find

19. In the titles of their books, see Note 1 above; Harrison, Second Coming, p.231, also notes 'millenary' which was used by contemporaries with millenarian and millennialist.
20. Orchard, 'Evangelical Eschatology', pp.66-68; CEQR, 19 (1846), 476-77; 30 (1851), 266-67; see also English Review, 4 (1845), 494; PFF, III. 280, 338-46.

some favour with rationalists and biblical scholars of the historical-critical school. The miraculous was eliminated by restricting the application of the prophecies to a time close to their writing.²¹

Spiritualizers, Spiritualists. This school of students of prophecy looked for a spiritual fulfilment of apocalyptic prophecy and not a literal second coming. Edward Irving, himself a literalist, noted that the religious world had 'shut up...nine tenths of the sacred volume. All the prophecies they have spiritualized away'. Spiritual interpretation was seen by a literalist as 'that last and most subtle of Roman errors'.²² By 1843 it was thought almost to have passed away.

Students of prophecy indicates those writers who were especially interested in apocalyptic prophecy.

21. PFF, II, 506-09; on the influence of preterism in German theological rationalism, PFF, II, 786-809; III, 596.
22. Quoted in David N. Hempton, 'Evangelicalism and Eschatology', Journal of Ecclesiastical History, (hereafter JEH), 31 (1980), 179-94 (p.187); Christian Observer, 43 (1843), p.801.

CHAPTER I

SOME CURRENTS OF RELIGIOUS THOUGHT

1. The Nineteenth Century Background

The 'general crisis of the seventeenth century' gave way to the relative calm of the age of reason.¹ Millenarian interests, that had been so much a feature of Puritan and sectarian expectation, faded.² There was a crisis of the European conscience as men sought to reconcile traditional teaching with new discoveries and critical scholarship. The comet might no longer presage disaster in a Newtonian universe.³ In England the eighteenth century church enjoyed what were caricatured as her 'fat slumbers', and this torpor was not confined to the Establishment. Enthusiasm seemed to many, in Bishop Butler's words, 'a horrid thing, a very horrid thing', fit only for prophets from the Cevennes,⁴ and for the Wesleys and George Whitfield.

The Lisbon earthquake of 1755, unprecedented in the annals of the time, suggested that the ordered universe was after all unpredictable. Earthquakes had been mentioned by Christ Himself as a sign of the end of the world,⁵ and there was a questioning as to what the events foretold. There had been predictions, based on an interpretation of Bible prophecy, that there would be a political upheaval in France. These Cassandra

1. Crisis in Europe 1560-1660, edited by Trevor Aston (1965); Randolph Starn, 'Historians and "Crisis"', Past and Present, 52 (Aug.1971),3-22.
2. Bryan W.Ball, A Great Expectation: Eschatological Thought in English Protestantism to 1660 (Leiden, 1975); B.S.Capp, The Fifth Monarchy Men: A Study in Seventeenth Century English Millenarianism (1972); P.G.Rogers, The Fifth Monarchy Men (1966).
3. Paul Hazard, The European Mind, 1680-1715 (Harmondsworth, 1964). The comet is discussed on pp.185-212.
4. Basil Williams, The Whig Supremacy, 1714-1760, second edition (Oxford, 1962),p.90.
5. Voltaire used the earthquake as a weapon in his attack on optimism, T.D.Kendrick, The Lisbon Earthquake (1956),p.119; PFF, II, 675-77.

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voices aroused little notice until the event. On any reading of history, 1789 is an epochal date. The effects felt throughout Europe, and arising from a shattering of ideals of stability, disillusion with the early idealism of the French reformers, as social liberation changed to French imperialism, and the social, political and economic consequences of almost continuous war for over twenty years, ensured that the clock could never be put back.

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The history of the nineteenth century can be understood only in the light of the French Revolution. This applies to political, social, economic and even religious life. Arguably the nineteenth century was a period of crisis, a word which includes the idea of judgment in its meanings. Certainly there were many then who thought of the state of affairs as judgment, sometimes a favourable one as God appeared to prosper the nation, sometimes a last judgment as the signs of the times indicated that the end was at hand. Discontent manifested itself in a plethora of movements for reform in the years 1830-50. The excesses of the Revolution, together with the irreligious ideas and practices of political writers, notably Thomas Paine, helped to create or confirm political conservatism among the majority of the clergy, including the Claphamite evangelicals.

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Over half the population was urban by 1851. The new towns grew up largely outside the ministrations of the Church of England. It was not until 1818 that serious provision began to be made for new parishes. There were complaints of neglect of rural congregations for lack of lay readers. The awful disillusion came when new churches had been provided

6. PFF, II, 644,723; Oddy, 'Eschatological Prophecy', pp.57-59.

7. Steven Watson, The Reign of George III, 1760-1815 (Oxford, 1960), p.353.

8. J.F.C.Harrison, The Early Victorians, 1832-51 (1971), p.151.

9. Watson, Reign of George III, pp.354-55.

and it was realized that the people did not want to come. The background of the Anglican minister gave him little understanding of working people, either in town or country. He was a gentleman in holy orders. It was in churches composed of and run by their peers that the working man could feel at ease.

The dissenting churches generally go through a process of embourgeoisement, so that they become cut off from their original roots. Wesleyan Methodism developed this way, and, partly as a consequence, suffered a number of break away movements such as the Primitives, dubbed 'Ranters' by those who despised them.

It is possible to exaggerate the failure of the churches to reach the poor, but church attendance figures and denominational records form the only objective criteria. The brute fact of poverty kept the very poor from attending a place of worship; they did not have the appropriate clothing. It is difficult to refute the findings of the 1851 religious census. The Nonconformist asked what were the 'main reasons for the general want of sympathy evinced by the working class for the public ministry and institutions ... Plainly they have little confidence and less interest in the religious proceedings of any denomination'. Yet many movements with a preponderance of poor members had a sprinkling

10. W.Owen Chadwick, The Victorian Church, 2 vols (1966), I, 84-85, 223, 330-32; Harrison, Early Victorians, pp.4,5.
11. Brian Heeney, A Different Kind of Gentleman: Parish Clergy as Professional Men in Early and Mid-Victorian England (Hamden, CT, 1976). This was the argument of Catherine Booth quoted in K.S. Inglis, Churches and the Working Classes in Victorian England (1974), p.176; Cheltenham Chronicle and Shrewsbury Herald quoted in Latter Day Saints Millennial Star (hereafter LDSMS), 11(1849), 331; compare 12(1850), 191; Quarterly Review, 81 (1847), 131-66 (p.160).
12. Thompson, Working Classes, pp.426-27.
13. Inglis, Churches...Working Classes, pp.1-16; Chadwick, Victorian Church, I, 325-46, 366; Generalizations are difficult. Local studies reveal new factors and complexities, Alan D.Gilbert, Religion and Society in Industrial England: Church, Chapel and Social Change, 1740-1914 (1976).

of middle class support. This brought financial strength and prestige. The example could be quoted of the Southcottians, John Ward's True Believers, the followers of James Smith, and the British Mormons. Oliver notes that there was no group in which there were not some people¹⁴ with a good deal of money to spend.

For some, religion was a solace for the almost intolerable burden of temporal life, and St Paul had in a measure recognized this (I Corinthians 15.19). For some young men, the dissenting or Methodist ministry was a way to escape from mine or factory. Nonconformity 'propagated a spiritual status system which cut across the hierarchical structure of society'. It was an 'asylum' for those wishing to affirm¹⁵ their social emancipation from squire and parson.

Dissent was at a legal and social disadvantage. Village preaching faced apathy of villagers and hostility of clergy. Field, tent, and room preaching were 'alike dangerous to the moral, social, and political stability of society'.¹⁶ The success of the Sheffield revival of 1844 conducted by the American James Caughey was in part made possible by the evangelical attitude of the Church of England clergy there, and the¹⁷ absence of strong gentry influence. From the failure to solve

14. Oliver, pp.15,156; The West Country evangelist George Brealey had a spiritual ally in Col.Conway Stafford. W.J.H.Brealey, 'Always Abounding'. A romance of revival in the Blackdown Hills (1897), p.56.
15. Alan D.Gilbert, 'The Growth and Decline of Nonconformity in England and Wales, with special reference to the period before 1850: an historical interpretation of statistics of religious practice' (unpublished D.Phil. dissertation, University of Oxford, 1973), pp.182-83; Chadwick, Victorian Church, I, 127.
16. Richard J.Carwardine, Transatlantic Revivalism: Popular Evangelicalism in Britain and America, 1790-1865 (Westport, CT, 1978), pp.70,136,152-54; Brealey, 'Always Abounding', pp.47,51,89; Bristol Times and Bath Advocate, 23 Mar.1844,p.3.
17. Carwardine, pp.115,153; 'Where there is little trade, there is seldom much increase in religion, the people...(being) in a state of great bondage to their wealthy landlords.' A Methodist observer in the 1790s quoted in W.R.Ward, Religion and Society in England, 1790-1850 (1972), p.36.

the church rates issue 'parish life suffered more ill than it gained
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from all the reforms of the Whig government' of the 1830s.

Methodism, Evangelicalism, and a stirring among the 'Old Dissent' characterized the late eighteenth century. The founding of missionary and philanthropic societies was proof of a new earnestness in the demon-
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stration of practical Christianity and evangelism. The impulses for a more active spiritual life and work clearly predated the French Revolution. However, 'the...effect of the French Revolution on the minds of vast multitudes of people in England is the elimination of bigotry to a sect'. The break-up of the old social order made it easier for sects to
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flourish. There is a link between social distress and the rise of itinerant preachers in the East Riding and Lincolnshire. G.W.E.Russell
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sees revival as a reaction to the Revolution. The collapse of an ancient Christian nation into atheism had to be explained. It could be seen as the nemesis of Catholicism, the wheels of justice avenging the Huguenots. To those who believed that the destiny of nations, at least of some nations, had been written in advance, the answer was to find the prophecy that fitted the event. For others, the defeat of the evil of revolution and Bonapartism and the growth of missions and material progress indicated that better times were ahead. The natural phraseology for such good times, whether conceived by Christian, temperance

18. Chadwick, Victorian Church, I, 147.

19. The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1699; Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 1701; Baptist Missionary Society, 1792; London Missionary Society, 1795; Church Missionary Society, 1799; British and Foreign Bible Society, 1804.

20. R.A.Ingram quoted in Ward, Religion and Society, pp.45-47; '...demographic, social, and cultural changes wrought by the Industrial Revolution had erected an audience that wished to assert its "independence" from the traditional sources of authority - squire and parson - and that was unprecedentedly receptive to an evangelical appeal', Carwardine, p.60.

21. Ward, Religion and Society, p.47; Russell, A Short History of the Evangelical Movement (1915), p.21.

advocate, or Owenite Socialist, was biblical; the millennium was coming.²²

The sense of crisis felt by the Church of England was expressed by Edward Thompson. He did not claim to know mathematically the times and seasons, but there was clear evidence of perilous times. If nations forget God, their prosperity fails. 'The Romanist and Sectarian are against us; they have combined to overthrow our Protestant altars; and...are permitted to torment us before the time.' In education the state should uphold the church. Heresy and schism will call down judgment. 'It is our Christianity alone which has induced the Almighty to preserve this nation.'²³ To deal with the 'National Crisis' an end must be put to all further concessions to 'that spirit of unbelief of political dissent and of popery which is stalking at midday through...this mighty empire'.²⁴ The Nonconformist journal was also attacked. The Quarterly Review asked whether Rome by leading young minds from 'legitimate and normal growth, might not cripple...that one great moral engine, the national church'.²⁵ W.G.Townley saw the solution to Chartism in education, though he would teach men nothing which did not befit the station in which God had placed them.²⁶

Additional to the impact of the Revolution, religious and other

22. Ellen G.White, The Great Controversy (Mountain View, CA, 1945), pp.265-88, for a 'protestant' interpretation of the Revolution, based on nineteenth century sources; Owen's Millennial Gazette wrote of a purely secular millennium, J.F.C.Harrison, Robert Owen and the Owenites in Britain and America (1969), pp.92-114. At the World Temperance Convention, 1846, lecturers, particularly Americans, thought the temperance cause to be the harbinger of the millennium, Advent Herald (hereafter AH), 16 Sept.1846,p.44.
23. The Wrathful and Merciful Visitation of God... (1839), pp.1-14,34; compare R.Yates, The Church in Danger: A statement of the cause, and of the probable means of averting that danger attempted (1815).
24. CEQR, 10 (1841), 365-87 (pp.367.369).
25. Quarterly Review, 81 (1847), 131-66 (p.157).
26. Rector of Upwell with Wesley, A Sermon occasioned by the late Chartist Movements (1839), p.10.

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influences easily crossed the Atlantic. The first American religious importation into Britain was revivalism. The work of Lorenzo Dow influenced Hugh Bourne, who held the first British camp meeting at Mow Cop, Staffordshire, in 1807. This led to the break resulting in the formation of the Camp Meeting Methodists, and, by fusion with other groups, of the Primitive Methodists in 1811.²⁸ James Caughey and Charles G. Finney were the most famous of the American visitors, men who systematized evangelism. The 'protracted meeting', the penitent form, and the anxious seat were ways of applying continuous pressure on sinners, and Finney's Lectures on Revival is a handbook on the techniques of persuasion, leaving little room for the Spirit to blow where it listeth.²⁹

Henry J. Prince, a highly wrought parson, described the revival at Charlinch, his first cure. The stages of despair of self and hope in God (or some other redemptive agency) are familiar to revivalists and to more sinister practitioners of persuasion.

They do not weep much now; they are past that period of conviction, and the work of the Spirit seems to have sunk deeper than the region of the feelings, and to have entered that of the will; they are inwardly broken, stripped and emptied, so that not one ray of hope from self dawns on them.

They realise that they can do nothing without faith, reach 'absolute despair, and are made to realise experimentally that their salvation depends entirely on the sovereign will of God'. This has a more Calvinistic ring than the Finney school which was highly Arminian in practice.³⁰

27. Frank Thistlewaite, America and the Atlantic Community, ...1790-1850 (New York, 1963), especially pp.151-76.
28. Carwardine, pp.104-07.
29. ibid., pp.126-48.
30. The Charlinch Revival (1842), p.15; compare William Sargant, The Battle for the Mind, A Physiology of Conversion and Brain-Washing (1959), pp.81,128-41; J.A.C.Brown, Techniques of Persuasion, From Propaganda to Brainwashing (1963), pp.223-43.

Itinerant evangelists were regarded with some suspicion by many pastors, who saw their competence challenged by the calling in of specialists who brought in large numbers of converts.³¹ Apprehension or disapproval was expressed, and it was argued that deadness followed a worked-up revival using 'means' and contrivance.³² By 1846 Finney believed that the revivals were becoming more superficial. A group of Baptists who thought the prospects in 1846 dark as midnight looked to some visiting Americans to amend matters. The Sheffield revival of 1844³³ was the apogee of Caughey's success.

Fear of revival among Nonconformists may have been in part due to the experience of 'glossolalia and millennialist excrescences'. Doctor Arnold was intrigued by Irvingite glossolalia and believed that, genuine or not, it was a sign of the end. Revivals in the west of Scotland were associated with premillennialism and 'miraculous' manifestations. 'As the millennium draws near and the ministers get sanctified, they will begin to prophesy.' The extent of glossolalia in the 1830s and 1840s still awaits investigation from local sources. Churches with a Calvinistic tradition were suspicious of the stress placed on the sinner's role in his own conversion.³⁴

31. In some cases the itinerants were poorly paid, uneducated and ill-equipped, Carwardine, p.72.
32. The Christian, 14 Jan.1848, p.307; The Day Star, Aberdeen, Sept.1845, pp.214-16; 'Mere animal excitement' wrote the future Catherine Booth in 1853, Inglis, Churches...Working Classes, p.177; on 'reaction' after revival, Carwardine, pp.22,50,179.
33. He may have been speaking of the American experience, but more probably both Britain and America, Lectures on Revivals of Religion, edited by W.G.McLoughlin, Jr (Cambridge, MA, 1960), p.xlix; Carwardine, p.135.
34. Carwardine, p.65; Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, The Life and Correspondence of Dr Thomas Arnold, D.D., eighth edition, 2 vols (1858), II, 250-51; Harrison, Second Coming, p.208; Robert Winfield, Sketches on Important Subjects Connected with the System of Christianity (Derby, 1845), p.62; for an outbreak of 'tongues' in Bristol, Felix Farley's Bristol Journal (hereafter FFBJ), 28 Mar.1846,p.3.

The Church of England tended to emphasize the 'disgraceful and dangerous character' of revivals and the need of establishment. The church was embattled to defend establishment when the progress of religion in America appeared to be greater than in Britain. Rough tactics were sometimes organized by incumbents, land owners, publicans, and working people.³⁵

Was revivalism a moderating or a dividing influence? G.R.Taylor feels that they were a modifying influence in Methodism in the years 1827-1846. Carwardine, however, shows from the example of Caughey's ministry that far from bringing cohesion to the unsettled ranks of Wesleyan Methodism, he brought 'aggravation, devisiveness and an unsettling passion for souls'. Davidson considers the Awakening of the eighteenth century

indeed glorious...But...also the most divisive and controversial disturbance New England had ever seen. Responsible supporters of the Awakening had to deal both with the men who flatly denied that the revivals were the work of God and with the zealots who seemed bent on proving that the opposers were right.³⁶

2. The 'Ruin of the Church', or 'Christianity without Sect'³⁷

As was noticed above, periods of acute social change may demonstrate a questioning of existing forms of worship and organization. The Seekers of the seventeenth century corresponded to many in the nineteenth century who wanted nothing to do with sects. A Wakefield convert to Mormonism said that he had been studying the Bible for forty years,

35. Carwardine, p.70; Louis Billington, 'Popular Religion and Social Reform: A Study of Revivalism and Teetotalism, 1830-1850', Journal of Religious History, 10 (1978-79), 266-93 (p.274).
36. Carwardine, p.133; Davidson, Logic, p.163; for revivalism and millenarianism as polarizing forces, pp.169-75.
37. The phrases are from J.N.Darby in Harold H.Rowdon, The Origins of the Brethren, 1825-1850 (1967), p.281, and J.W.Crompton, MA, a clergyman, Christianity Without Sect (Norwich, 1850).

and found no authority for 'a hireling ministry to alter the laws of Christ, as for example, sprinkling infants'. Bible study had lead him to expect the second advent, but only the Wroeites, Southcottians, and some Church of England clergy preached it. Believing in baptism by immersion he joined what he believed to be a scriptural Baptist church, but to his 'surprise and sorrow, they had no ear to hear of the Second Coming'. He could find no sect that believed as he, until he met the Latter-Day Saints and felt convinced. 'I want primitive Christianity; nothing more or less.'³⁸

The Church of England Quarterly Review noted that the 'error of trying to escape from the world before the time...is found working evil in men of all denominations, in the Plymouth sect as much as in the church of Rome'.³⁹ A spiritual migration could lead from Nonconformity to the Church of England, or in the opposite direction.⁴⁰ This desire for New Testament simplicity and purity of doctrine usually involved belief that the existing churches had lapsed into apostasy. The standard Protestant historical picture was of a church that somewhere in the early centuries had succumbed to the errors of Rome, not to be delivered until the Reformation. Opinions varied on how soon the corruptions began. The small sects usually regarded anything after apostolic days with suspicion, if for no other reason than that they did not have access to the writings of the Fathers. At any rate, the Bible

38. LDSMS, 3 (1841),54; Gribble, a draper, and a Home Mission worker, left that organization to join the Brethren, giving his reason, Rowdon, Brethren, pp.149-50; Henry Borlase, curate of St. Keynes, Cornwall, and L.C.L.Brenton, gave their reasons for leaving the Established Church, Coad, Brethren, p.64; for four London Baptists who left that body, Bible Advocate and Precursor of Unity, 3 (1849),119.

39. CEQR, 14 (1843), 42.

40. For example, the English emigrant James Sabine: PFF, IV, 663-65; Andrew Jukes: Rowdon, Brethren, p.174, Coad, Brethren, pp.78-79.

was inspired, the Fathers not. The Millerite Adventists appealed to history and to the primitive churches before the falling away.⁴¹ Such tenets and yearnings are characteristic of 'restorationist' sects, neatly summed up in the title of a short-lived Campbellite periodical, Bible Advocate and Precursor of Unity. 'Even in the most apostate churches devout persons are to be found; but...they should come out.'⁴² The Latter-Day Saints saw the sects being swept away. A 'restorationist' sect is often, but not always premillennialist. Apocalypticism is not inherent in restorationism, as is shown in the case of the Churches of Christ. Members of the Established Church made up the largest group of expositors of prophecy. Joseph D'Arcy Sirr, an Irish rector and student of prophecy,⁴³ wrote A Dissuasive from Separation. Regarding the Established Churches as fallen, 'restorationists' were apt to be anti-clerical in language. In that they were joined by quasi-Christian groups like the Barkerites and by some millenarians.⁴⁴ James Barr states that 'it is in millenarianism that an almost total negativism towards the existing church becomes almost an ideological principle, a matter of necessary doctrine'.⁴⁵

41. The First Report of the General Conference of Christians Expecting the Advent of Our Lord Jesus Christ...1840 (Boston, 1841), p.22; Silas Hawley, A Declaration of Sentiments reported by S.Hawley to the Christian Union Convention...Syracuse (Casenovia, NY, 1839), pp.3-4.
42. 'Restorationist' is used in the sense employed by Louis Billington, 'The Churches of Christ in Britain: A Study in Nineteenth Century Sectarianism', Journal of Religious History, 7 (1974-75), 21-48 (pp.21-23); Christian Advocate, 2(1858),106; LDSMS, 1(1840),8.
43. A Dissuasive from Separation; a letter to some Wavering Friends at Westport (Dublin, 1836); Reasons for Abiding in the Established Church, a letter to the Rev. Charles Hargrove (Dublin, 1836); LDSMS, 1(1840),8.
44. 'All those who subjected themselves to Popes, Conferences and Priesthoods were labouring under a bondage as cruel and tyrannical as...Egypt', J.Lee, Christian Intelligencer, 1(1847),18; compare Biblical Inquirer, 1(1844),13-15.
45. Fundamentalism (1977), p.200.

Restorationist and millenarian papers were able to make use of anti-clerical snippets from the secular press. Money going to mission-⁴⁶ary societies was having little effect. Robert Atkins, a Liverpool millenarian, saw 'apostacy...engraven on the front of every church', from the painted chambers of Lambeth Palace to the salaried dissenting preacher, the opulent professing church man, or the wealthy deacon. To delay the advent would be 'just a crowding of hell with daily increasing victims'. The Bible Advocate listed episcopal incomes, adding 'we have need to pray for the time when these merchants of men's souls shall cry in the street, "Babylon is fallen"'. There was widespread anticlericalism among the New and Wesleyan connections.⁴⁷ The Evangelical Magazine attacked the Puseyites, 'perfect shadows of the Jesuits', who openly avowed that fox hunting, drinking parsons were the true successors of the apostles.⁴⁸

One strong characteristic of the sect was its denunciation of sects, however differently interpreted. The Christian Remembrancer lamented a 'schismatical or heretical period, when jarring sectaries used the Bible as the banner round which to rank in varied array their pestilent errors'.⁴⁹ The Bible Advocate stated that what constituted a sect was

46. LDSMS, 8(1846),15-16; 9(1847),265,316; 12 (1850),76-77.

47. A true picture; or a thrilling description of the state of the churches throughout Christendom... (Boston, 1843), pp.6,7,12; 'The Great Convention: or the Evangelical Alliance', a hostile article in the Christian Messenger and Family Magazine (hereafter CMFM) 2(1846),464-71; Bible Advocate, 2(1848),98; Billington, 'Revivalism', p.292.

48. 23 (1845),405-06.

49. 8(1844),291; 'I believe that before Christ comes in His glory, all sectarian principles will be shaken, and the votaries of the several sects scattered to the four winds: and that none will be able to stand but those who are built upon the word of God', William Miller's creed in Sylvester Bliss, Memoirs of William Miller (Boston, 1853),pp.79,382-83.

the demanding, as a condition of union, anything beyond FAITH in Jesus, and obedience to His commandments. To introduce a single extra ordinance, or to demand uniformity of OPINION is to rend the body of Christ, and constitute the actors sectarian. We know but one other way of making a sect. And that is by requiring anything LESS than these two items...On principle we can not yield to a single demand more than the word will authorize; neither can we sit at the Lord's table with any who refuse to obey his commands.⁵⁰

Different schemae for a typology of sects have been devised. One basic division is into two classes: those whose founder claimed extra-biblical inspiration, and those who claimed the Bible as sole authority.⁵¹ Emmanuel Swedenborg, Richard Brothers, Joanna Southcott, Benjamin Gorton, John Wroe, Henry Prince, Joseph Smith, and Mary Baker Eddy are in the first category. It is not clear how Robert Winfield, the itinerant revivalist, should be categorized. In October 1843 he received 'a clear view of the world from creation to millennium'. The claim to extra-biblical revelation was sometimes associated with claims to divinity, or quasi-divinity as in the case of Brothers, Southcott, and Prince.⁵²

John Glas, Robert Stark, leader of a small group in Torquay,

50. 2(1848),121.

51. Wilson, 'Social Aspects', p.864; compare B.R.Wilson, 'A Typology of Sects', in Roland Robertson, editor, Sociology of Religion, Selected Readings (1969), pp.361-83, which considers sects by the way they react to society.

52. The references given for individual leaders are merely to introduce works on the person, valuable for content and bibliography. Emmanuel Swedenborg: Stuart Bogg, An Illustrated Life of Swedenborg (1911); Richard Brothers, Joanna Southcott: G.R.Balleine, Past Finding Out: The tragic story of Joanna Southcott and her successors (1956); Harrison, Second Coming, chapters 4-6; Benjamin Gorton, A Scriptural Account of the Millennium (Troy, 1802), had revelations of his own which were the basis of some of his prophetic expositions, p.47; John Wroe: Oliver, pp.155,199-201; Henry Prince: Dictionary of National Biography; Joseph Smith: Fawn M.Brodie, No Man Knows my History: the Life of Joseph Smith, the Mormon Prophet, second edition (New York, 1971); Mary Baker Eddy: Robert Peel, Mary Baker Eddy, The Years of Decision; Mary Baker Eddy, the Years of Trial; Mary Baker Eddy, the Years of Authority, 3 vols (New York, 1966,1971,1977); Winfield, Sketches.

William O'Bryan, founder of the Bible Christians, Robert Aitken, William Miller, the American millenarian of the 1840s, Alexander Campbell, founder of the Churches of Christ or Disciples, Edward Irving of the Catholic Apostolic Church, Dr John Thomas, founder of the Christadelphians, John Wilson of the British Israelites, John Nelson Darby of the Brethren, and, at a later date, Charles Taze Russell, founder of what was later called Jehovah's Witnesses, and Herbert W. Armstrong of the World-Wide Church of God, were all leaders who based their teachings solely on the Bible as they understood it. To claim that the Holy Spirit has guided in the study of the Bible, leading to the formulation of doctrine, is far different from setting up a new canon. Though imperious in their anathemas, Darby and Thomas never sought the status of prophetae. Russell did not make any personal claims to special spiritual gifts. He did claim, however, that his writings were the divinely provided light upon God's word. It was sufficient to read his Scripture Studies with their references. Reading the Bible alone would

53. John Glas: Billington, 'The Churches of Christ', p.22; C.F.Cornwallis, Christian Sects in the Nineteenth Century (1846), pp.114-16; Robert Stark: A Divinely Commissioned Ministry (London, Plymouth, 1858); William O'Bryan: S.L.Thorne, Obedience to the call of God: A funeral sermon on the death of Wm. O'Bryan (Plymouth, 1868); A Digest of the Rules and Regulations of the People Denominated Bible Christians (Shebbear, Devon, 1838); Thomas Shaw, 'The Bible Christians, 1815-1907', Wesley Historical Society Lecture, 31 (1965); Robert Aitken: DNB; William Miller - See Chapter III; Alexander Campbell: Dictionary of American Biography; Edward Irving: R.A.Davenport, Albury Apostles (1973), pp.41-47; for an exhaustive bibliography of the Irvingites and Catholic Apostolic Church, Iain Hamish Murray, The Puritan Hope: a study in revival and the interpretation of prophecy (1971), pp.188-94; Dr John Thomas: Robert Roberts, Dr Thomas, His Life and Work, third edition, edited by C.C.Walker and W.H.Boulton (Birmingham, 1954); John Wilson: Wilson, 'British Israelism'; J.N.Darby: Rowdon, Brethren; C.T.Russell: Alan Rogerson, Millions Now Living Will Never Die: A Study of Jehovah's Witnesses (1969), pp.5-31.207-12; James A.Beckford, The Trumpet of Prophecy. A Sociological Study of Jehovah's Witnesses (Oxford, 1975); Herbert W.Armstrong: The Autobiography of Herbert W.Armstrong, vol.I (Pasadena, CA, 1957).

lead to darkness. Later writing by Jehovah's Witnesses has tended to play down the role of individual Bible students, including Russell. The role of Ellen G. White (née Harmon) in the Seventh-day Adventist church fits into none of the above categories.

3. True Israelites

Belief in the conversion of the Jewish nation was, like many other aspects of nineteenth century millenarian expectation, emphasized in the seventeenth century. These thoughts had even older roots in Martin Bucer and Peter Martyr. William Perkins, Sir Henry Finch, Thomas Brightman, Richard Sibbes, Thomas Goodwin, and Christopher Love were among the propagators of the idea. The writings of the speculative mythologists provided the basis for the ideas of Blake, best expressed in what has been known as the hymn 'Jerusalem'.

A literal interpretation of scripture seemed to require that such passages as Isaiah 65 and 66 and Romans 11 be fulfilled just as completely as the second advent itself. That 'all Israel might be saved', it was by some felt necessary, and by most considered interesting, to identify the ten lost tribes. Tired of the search, a Campbellite paper decided 'it is not needful for the disciple to discriminate who and where are the ten tribes, or the twelve either...whether they are

54. J.N. Darby held that a special doctrine had been revealed exclusively to him, Rowdon, Brethren, p.240; Millions Now Living, p.11 on need to read Russell, the 'Combination Timelock which opens up divine secrets'.
55. Ball, Great Expectation, pp.107-09, 146-56; Capp, Fifth Monarchy Men, pp.190, 213; Mayir Veret, 'The Restoration of the Jews in English Protestant Thought, 1790-1840', Middle Eastern Studies, 8(1972), 3-50; Peter Toon, editor, Puritans, the Millennium, and the Future of Israel: Puritan Eschatology, 1600-1660 (Cambridge, 1970), pp.32-33; Harrison, Second Coming, pp.81-82.
56. Joseph Wright, Israel in China: An Enquiry (1842); Asahel Grant, The Nestorians: or the Lost Tribes (1841); CEQR, 10(1841), 154-64.

the American Indians, or the nations of Western Europe...or maintaining a separate existence in the land of China...or at the foot of the mountains of the moon'.⁵⁷

The belief in a glorious future for Israel made historicist interpreters watchful for signs of spiritual stirrings among the Jews, or even signs of migration to Palestine. Such reports were eagerly noticed in the seventeenth century and again in the nineteenth. In some ways the prophecy was self-fulfilling in that the concern for the Jews made them prominent in religious, if not public thought. This prominence was noted as a sign of the times.⁵⁸ Orchard has demonstrated the eschatological motif in the establishment of the Jerusalem bishopric.⁵⁹ The concern for the Jews was sometimes mixed with a curious contempt for those who became Christians. 'Friends as we are of Israel...we have no wish to see the Jews admitted to Westminster. Their parliament is...on Mount Zion.'⁶⁰ Alexander Dallas, a Bloomsbury lecturer, showed that the Jews, 'this royal race...shall form a grade above the children of men...dwelling on earth, and below the glorified saints of heaven'.⁶¹

The London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews, 'although instituted by good men, formed a centre around which gathered a variety of loose, vague, floating tufts and weeds of religionism, and scraps and debris of superfluous activity and zeal'. This mixture of sentimentalism

57. Gospel Banner, 3(1850),56.

58. Richard Brothers believed in a return to the Holy Land, Harrison, Second Coming, pp.79-80; Grimshaw in Israel Restored, p.1; Hempton, 'Evangelicalism', p.185; Christian Remembrancer, 12(1846), 222-87.

59. Orchard, pp.202-40.

60. QJP, 6(1854),90. A review of Aaron Pick's, The Gathering of Israel; or the Patriarchal Blessing as contained in the Forty-ninth Chapter of Genesis (1848), patronizingly noted that 'we cannot expect much from them', i.e. baptized Jews, CEQR, 24(1848),494-95.

61. 'The Promised Land', in Good Things to Come...With a preface by Rev. W.W.Pym (1847),pp.26-27.

and love of committee work was 'combined...with real earnestness and devotion to the gospel'. There was also a network of local societies.

The membership of the Society overlapped the Albany group so that the Society was strongly tinged with millenarianism.

The Millerite Adventists saw the question of the future of Israel as the main issue between themselves and other believers in the soon coming. When a definite time for the advent was still being preached, there seemed no room for such a lengthy process. After 1844 it still remained a part of the Millerite belief that the promise of restoration made to Israel would be fulfilled to the spiritual, not the physical descendants of Abraham. This is why the Abrahamic covenant was frequently discussed in Millerite papers. As there would be no return to Palestine and no special hope for the Jews, they should repent immediately. It was argued that as the return of the Jews became less probable in view of their evident disinclination, the faith of some literalists in the imminent advent, so linked to the Jewish question,

62. 'Judaism and the Jerusalem Bishopric', Christian Remembrancer, 12(1846), 222-77 (p.245). The society was founded in 1809 by Joseph Frey, a converted Jew, and given financial strength by Lewis Way, to whose 'intriguing eccentricities' Ernest R.Sandeen traces much of the revived interest in the Jews, The Roots of Fundamentalism: British and American Millenarianism, 1800-1930 (Grand Rapids, MI, 1970), p.9.
63. Orchard, p.121.
64. The Midnight Cry, New York (hereafter MC), 16 Nov.1843,p.16; Richard Hutchinson, The Abrahamic Inheritance (Nottingham,1844); Damsteegt, pp.60-62; 'Title to the land of Canaan', Second Advent Harbinger, (hereafter SAH), 14 May 1844, pp.65-67; 'The fall and recovery of the Jews', SAH, 21 May 1844,pp.79-80; 'The salvation of Israel', Advent Harbinger and Midnight Alarm (successor to the SAH, hereafter AHMA), 8 Sept.1844,pp.31-32.

65

was weakened. This doctrine, contrary to most millenarian thinking, aroused questions from 'Many Enquirers'. Mede and Frey were quoted in support of the conversion after the present long captivity, the 'times of the Gentiles' (Luke 21.24). The Millerite reply argued: 1. The scattered remnants of Israel and Judah would return, but this would be the resurrected righteous who would inherit with Abraham not Palestine only, but the world to come. 2. Romans 11 certainly appeared to teach 'some special favor to the natural Israel', but the resurrection was the favour bestowed. Galatians 3.20 included those with Saxon parents according to the flesh. 3. The promises of Deuteronomy 29 and 30 would be fulfilled in the natural body.

66

Both literalists and Millerites agreed that the promises to Israel, however understood, would be fulfilled at the end of the 'Time of the Gentiles'.

67 Many historicists believed the 2300 days of Daniel 8.14 were about to terminate, and that the cleansing of the sanctuary would be the restoration of Israel and the abolition of Islam, the abominating little horn.

68 The Millerites differed in their understanding of what was the sanctuary of Daniel 8.14.

69 George Storrs, Apollos Hale, and Robert Winter believed it was Palestine. Henry Grew believed that God planned, in a short work, to bring in a great number of Jews to parti-

65. J.W.Brooks, 'The Abrahamic Covenant' in Israel Restored, 81-119 (pp.112-15); Signs of the Times, Boston (hereafter ST), 25 May 1842, p.62; The European Herald (hereafter EAH), admitted that there were promises suggesting future restoration of literal Israel, 1 July 1846, pp.5,6; 12 June 1848, pp.82-83; compare SAH, 14 May 1844, p.12; Isaac C.Wellcome, History of the Second Advent Message and Mission, Doctrine and People (Yarmouth, ME, 1874), pp.536-37.
66. SAH, 26 Mar.1844, pp.10-11; The Midnight Cry, Nottingham, 1 vol., 1844 (hereafter MCN), 14 Sept., pp.95-96. The true seed of Israel held title to Canaan.
67. William Miller's address to the inhabitants of Great Britain, EAH, 1 Sept.1846, pp.18-19.
68. Damsteegt, pp.57-63.
69. ibid., pp.31-35.

cipate in all the glories of the gospel. Both Storrs and Grew later⁷⁰ became associated with the Age to Come Adventists. To their opponents the Millerites appeared inconsistent in preaching a literal advent yet a spiritual Israel. They printed extracts from English literalist writers who believed in the restoration of the 'carnal Jews',⁷¹ yet denounced these views in other parts of their papers.

The Campbellites discussed whether the hope of Israel had not been fulfilled in the coming of Messiah and therefore there would be no restoration to earthly Canaan.⁷² After David King's lecture at Hammer-smith, the Reverend J.T.Cuming, an Independent, agreed that a second reformation was needed, but he could not look favourably upon any scheme that did not embody great plans for the conversion of the Jews. Cuming's remarks were an indication that the role of the Jews figured⁷³ little in the teaching of the Churches of Christ. The Latter-Day Saints noted evidences of the restoration of Israel as confirming the book of Mormon. The editor of the Millennial Star apparently read the⁷⁴ Jewish Chronicle, and Orson Hyde undertook a mission to Jerusalem.

The Puritan emphasis on the Old Testament, the questioning of established forms, and the willingness to seek new, or rather old forms, led some to adopt the seventh-day Sabbath. The intense concern with the destiny of Israel in salvation history led some groups to

70. Apollos Hale, The Second Advent Manual (Boston, 1843), p.46; Enos K. Baxter, Review of Rev. Geo. Storrs against the Literal return of the Jews (Boston, 1843), p.1; SAH, 16 April 1844, p.39.

71. Birks refuted the argument that the blessings to literal Israel were transferred to the spiritual, though he did not mention the Millerites by name, Israel Restored, pp.69-70.

72. Gospel Banner, 4(1851), pp.16-21, 39-47, 86-88, 102-09, 127-36, 151-65, 182-92.

73. Bible Advocate, 2(1848), 46.

74. LDSMS, 1(May 1840), 18-19; 8(1846), 162, 183, 210-11; 9(1847), 135; 10(1848), 43-45; the report that the Jews had received permission to rebuild the temple in Jerusalem was one of the signs of the times, 12(1850), 143.

adopt the Mosaic law in addition to the Sabbath. Ball notes that the seventeenth century heresiographer Ephraim Pagett distinguished between the Sabbatarians and the followers of John Traske, who observed 'many Jewish ceremonies'. The distinction is also valid in the nineteenth century. The Seventh Day Baptists were the first organized body of Sabbath-keepers in post-mediaeval times. They did not adopt the Leviti-

cal code.⁷⁵ The Evangelical Magazine noted 'adopting Jewish ordinances' as an aberration of some premillennialists. Among the Brethren, Andrew Jukes, H.W. Soltau, and W.G. Rhind showed great interest in Old Testament typology.⁷⁶ John Black's small following in London held the Lord's

Supper on Saturday evening, using the analogy of Acts 20.7, the fact that Christ was in the tomb on Saturday night and the service is a supper. It is not clear that Black's reasons were sabbatarian, and⁷⁷ there is no identification with specifically Jewish practices as such.

Jehovah's Witnesses celebrate 'the Lord's evening meal' only on 14th⁷⁸ Nisan, the passover date. In the nineteenth century Mary Boon, a

Devonian claimant to the mantle of Joanna Southcott, made her followers observe Saturday and work on Sundays.

75. Wilson, 'British Israelism', pp.xv,xxiii,2; Rogers, Fifth Monarchy Men, p.149; Bryan W.Ball, The English Connection (Cambridge, 1981),pp.138-39; Capp, Fifth Monarchy Men, pp.190-91,202,222. None of these references identified the English with the Israelites.
76. Evangelical Magazine, 27(1849),638: All three wrote books on the Levitical ceremonies, see Bibliography. On the connection between Sabbatarianism (Sunday keeping) and the concept of the chosen people, John Wigley, 'Nineteenth Century English Sabbatarianism: A Study of A Religious, Political and Social Phenomenon' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Sheffield, 1972),p.102.
77. D.M.Thompson, Let Sects and Parties Fall. A short history of the Association of Churches of Christ in Great Britain and Ireland (Birmingham, 1980),p.25; Christian Messenger and Reformer (hereafter CM), 6(1842-43),361,416-21; Black may also have believed in the unconscious state of the dead, British Millennial Harbinger (hereafter Brit.Mill.Harb.), 7(1854),283-84.
78. Life Everlasting in Freedom of the Sons of God (New York, Watchtower Society, 1966), p.134. Watchtower publications do not carry author's name.

John Wroe carried this much farther, leading a section of the Southcottians to become Christian Israelites, or Wroeites. Though observing much of the Mosaic law, and a good deal of regulation besides, the Wroeites did not appear to identify themselves with Israel because of their Anglo-Saxon origin but because of their adopted practices.⁷⁹ The Christadelphians regarded themselves as having become Jews in a higher sense and in every particular, except that of national birth.⁸⁰ Some of their early meeting places were called synagogues. A Campbellite maintained that the Jerusalem council prohibition on things strangled and blood was still in force. J.B.Rollo, also a Campbellite, quoting Colossians 2.16, argued that it applied only to the weaker brethren, but the editor of the Gospel Banner upheld that blood was still forbidden. Jehovah's Witnesses apply the abhorrence of ingesting blood also to blood transfusion as a medical procedure.⁸¹

Millenarianism and Judaistic notions were linked in the person of Alexander Rennie, a Scot who claimed to be of the tribe of Issachar and scared the Bedfordshire rustics with his preaching of the near approach of judgment and 'divers strange doctrines of the millennium'.⁸² A

79. Harrison, Second Coming, pp.138-52.

80. Wilson, 'Social Aspects'. p.855.

81. Gospel Banner, 3(1850),109,164,198-99,233-38. Seventh-day Adventists did not adopt Levitical dietary practices until the 1860s and then as a principle of 'health reform', not observance of the Levitical Law as such. They have not interpreted the code strictly and advocate vegetarianism, D.E.Robinson, The Story of Our Health Message (Nashville, TN, 1943); Ronald Numbers, Prophetess of Health. A Study of Ellen G.White (New York, 1976); John Brunt, 'Unclean or Unhealthful? An Adventist Perspective', Spectrum, 11, no.3 (Washington, DC, 1981), 17-23. 'Health reform' was widely discussed in the mid-nineteenth century, and intrigued some religious leaders; Alexander Campbell, 'A Simplicity of Diet', CMFM, 2(1846),360; A list of books on vegetarianism in Bible Advocate, 3(1849),284; Life Everlasting in Freedom, pp.321-43, especially pp.333-41.

82. The Westonian, 3 April 1844. I am indebted to Mr John Hines for this reference.

division between the 'spirit-begotten...144,000 spiritual Israelites', and the much larger number of 'other sheep' is made by Jehovah's Witnesses. The 'other sheep' may watch but not share in the Lord's evening meal.⁸³ Some who continued to observe Sunday and did not adopt any other Jewish practices sought to justify Sunday observance, not on account of the resurrection, but because Sunday was the seventh day of the week, the original Sabbath of creation. The idea of the millennium as the seventh chiliad of the world's history suggested the perpetuity of the Sabbath commandment.⁸⁴

The interest in Israel, together with the conviction that England, or Great Britain, Frere's 'highly favoured nation',⁸⁵ had a special place in the divine plan, sometimes merged into an identification of the Anglo-Saxons, and the British branch of the Celts, with the lost tribes. J.Wilson in his 1966 dissertation, traced the roots of the idea among the Ranters and Fifth Monarchy Men. The father of modern British Israelism was John Wilson, whose Lectures appeared in 1840. A mass of misguided and bogus scholarship grew up in attempts historical and

83. Life Everlasting in Freedom, pp.145-49.

84. The Time of the End and Prophetic Witness for Christ, Feb.1845, pp.39-40, citing the Cornish Magazine; Cotton Mather believed Sunday was 'the seventh day of the week, when God rested and thus, a Peculiar Type and Sign of the Blessed Millennium', Davidson, Logic, p.14; ST, 15 June 1841,p.43; MC, 5 Sept.1844,p.68; 12 Sept.,p.76; Bible Advocate, 2(1848),5-10, reprinted an item from the Christian Baptist settling the Sabbath question in favour of Sunday.

85. 'When all the kingdoms of the divided Roman Empire were involved in the darkness of the Roman superstition, one of these alone was ...called by the mercy of God to the true knowledge of himself. This highly favoured nation is Great Britain', CEQR, 31(1852),282, quoting A Combined View of the Prophecies of Daniel, Esdras and St.John (1815); compare Robert Buchanan in Murray, Puritan Hope, pp.134-35; W.B.Galloway, Apocalyptic Chart (1852).

philological to prove the identity of the races. British Israelism, while believing in Our Israelitish Origin, has not adopted Jewish practices. Wilson's thesis shows that 'it is a special teaching that must, for inherent ideological reasons, be promulgated within the existing churches'.⁸⁷

From time to time there were proposals to emigrate to Canaan where God's glory was to be revealed. This was the scheme of demented Richard Brothers, of some Millerite offshoots, and other groups. The Mormon emigration westward sought the New Jerusalem in a different continent.⁸⁸ The Jewish issue continued to fascinate a wider spectrum of Christian writers, but especially those who were interested in prophecy.⁸⁹ Zoar, Shiloh, Beulah, and Salem chapels, often with a Hebrew inscription on the architrave, are mute witnesses of the interest of some branches of Nonconformity in the ancient chosen people. Frequently the current usage of the building witnesses to hope deferred.

4. Millenarianism

In a secular age that has devised its own means for ending the

86. Wilson, 'British Israelism', traces the idea through John Sadler, Rights of the Kingdom (1649), Richard Brothers and his disciple John Finleyson, The Last Trumpet and the Flying Angel (1849), and Ralph Wedgewood, The Book of Remembrance (1814). However Dr Wilson does not suggest a link between John Wilson and earlier writers, pp.4-10; On Brothers: Clarke Garrett, Respectable Folly: Millenarians and the French Revolution in France and England (Baltimore, MD, and London, 1975), pp.14-15, 177-220, 227; John Wilson, Lectures on Ancient Israel and the Israelitish Origin of the Modern Nations of Europe (Cheltenham, 1840); this book was to become widely promoted by the Age to Come Adventists after 1844, Advent Harbinger and Bible Advocate, Rochester, NY (hereafter AHBA), NS.2 (1850), 19, 21, 26, 34, 89, 277, 323, 360, 378, 386; Robert Govett, English derived from Hebrew: with glances at Greek and Latin (1869).
87. 'British Israelism', p.5.
88. Harrison, Second Coming, pp.79-81; Time of the End, Jan. 1845, p.28
89. The Inquirer, 3(1840), 49-59, 113-23; Theological and Literary Journal (hereafter Theol. & Lit. Jnl., edited by D.N.Lord, 2(1849), 15, 240; 3(1850), 453.

world, it is perhaps not ~~surprising~~ that there should be renewed interest in millenarianism. There seems more prospect of 'Apocalypse Now' than the peaceful progression of the millennialists.

The negative side of millenarianism may be noticed. Hempton is inclined to blame it for a transformation from 'enlightened thoughtful respectability' to bigotry.⁹¹ The embarrassment felt by later generations over millenarianism is illustrated by the way biographers have tended to glide over that aspect when they intended to be favourable to their subject.⁹² The embarrassment is twofold. Millenarianism went out of fashion later in the century, though some otherwise orthodox members of 'mainstream' churches continued to maintain an interest. Secondly, millenarianism was also associated with 'anarchic and violent communities dissatisfied with their conditions and trying to usher in a new era of ease and riches'.⁹³

Even contemporary sympathetic reviewers of books on prophecy were sometimes visibly embarrassed. 'There is in this little volume much food for serious thought; and though the speculations of the author are sometimes a little extraordinary - as, for example, when he supposes St. John and Nero to be both alive...yet these pages cannot be seriously pursued without pleasure and profit.'⁹⁴ This was admittedly an extreme

90. 'Apocalypse Now', a film released 1980, about the Vietnam war; on the recrudescence of apocalypticism, IDB, V, 33.

91. 'Evangelicalism', p.179.

92. Orchard, p.121. Two modern biographers of Samuel Sewall of Boston show embarrassment over his interest in prophecy, Davidson, Logic, pp.25,26; compare the suppression by his biographer, his widow, of A.R.C.Dallas's many millenarian activities, Sandeen, p.291.

93. Hempton, 'Evangelicalism', p.181; Sandeen, pp.81-102, for the years 1845-78; 'The extent to which adventism entered into the evangelization of such prominent revivalists as Finney, Booth, Guinness, and Moody...is not easy to assess, Wilson, 'Social Aspects', p.931; J.E.Orr, The Second Evangelical Awakening in Britain, 1859-65 (1949), is not informative here.

94. R.W.Johnston, Shadows of the Future (1843), reviewed in CEQR. 13(1843),491.

flight of interpretive fancy, but nonsense of this sort was a factor in the discrediting of millenarianism. The ambiguity of attitude toward millenarians comes out in a report entitled 'An Enthusiast' of a man in Jerusalem 'in daily expectation of the second coming in the present generation...The signs of the times are his guide, and the Bible his only library...a most worthy man...much esteemed by the late Bishop Alexander, although looked upon by him as more than half mad'.⁹⁵ This was possibly a reference to Joseph Wolff.

The interest in prophetic numbers sometimes became more like numerology or Gematria, as in the case of Frere, rather aptly writing from 2, Poets' Corner, and William Cuninghame's later works.⁹⁶ Millenarians sometimes 'ran out' (the phrase is from George Fox) into extravagances and ultimate scepticism. The career of James 'Shepherd' Smith is an example. The second advent preaching of Henry Prince in 1845 was a phase in his growing delusions and misdirected spirituality. However, examples could be quoted from non-millenarians such as Joseph Barker,⁹⁷ who drifted into scepticism. Extremes may discredit a movement; they neither prove nor disprove the teachings.

Hempton believes that the early nineteenth century saw the growth of a millenarianism different from the earlier movements led by religious psychotics claiming special revelation, from Thomas Muntzer to

95. FFBJ, 28 Nov.1846,p.3.

96. Frederick W.Farrow, History of Interpretation, Eight Lectures Preached before the University of Oxford in the Year MDCCCLXXXV (1886), pp.98-107; Frere in Prophetic Herald and Churchman's Witness for Christ (1845),pp.135-37; PFF, III,365-66; e.g. 'a bizarre hotchpotch of mathematics, biology and geometry', cited Orchard, p.167.

97. Geoffrey F.Nuttall, Studies in Christian Enthusiasm Illustrated from Early Quakerism (Wallingford, PA, 1948),p.78; W.Anderson Smith, 'Shepherd' Smith, the Universalist (1892), pp.16,176-77,213; Billington, 'Revivalism'. p.282.

John Nicolls Tom. It is true that never before had a scholarly group commanded so much attention as they studied and wrote about prophecy, but the nineteenth century movement can be seen as a revival of the Puritan interest in apocalyptic. Recent studies have emphasized the extent of those scholarly concerns in the seventeenth century. The nineteenth century reprints of Puritan divines illustrate the continuity of thought.

Mayir Vereté has pointed out that the nineteenth-century expositors were much more detailed and specific in their interpretations than their predecessors.¹⁰⁰ The French Revolution appeared to present a dramatic fulfilment of a prophetic time period and led to renewed study of Daniel and the Revelation.¹⁰¹ The historicists would argue that interpretation was bound to grow in clarity as the scroll of history unrolled, and fulfilments could be seen. In discussions of nineteenth-century millenarianism, one must be aware that there were at least three streams, not wholly independent, but tenuously linked: 1. The scholarly interest, which, however, was not a mere intellectual exercise. The expositions were put out or preached with the most dire warnings to repent. 2. Sectarian groups, notably the Christadelphians, whose beliefs had a considerable intellectual content. Followers needed some concentration to grasp the teachings. There was little emotion to spur on the believer. The Millerite Adventist papers, small and crammed with calcula-

98. 'Evangelicalism'. p.181.

99. Ball, Great Expectation: idem, English Connection; Jeremiah Burrough, Jerusalem's Glory Breaking Forth (1836); Thomas Goodwin, The Expositions of That Divine Thomas Goodwin, D.D., on Part of the Epistle to the Ephesians, and on the Book of Revelation (1842); idem, The French Revolution foreseen, in 1639. Extracts from an Exposition of the Revelation by an eminent divine... (1796); QJP, 6(1854), 77-84.

100. 'The Restoration of the Jews', pp.3-6.

101. Oddy, 'Eschatological Prophecy', pp.57-58.

tions, were not easy reading. 3. Other movements which seem to have been largely popular, with little theoretical structure and an appeal to emotion and messianic aspiration.

The groups to be considered in this study were far from being revolutionary. Despite predictions of the soon-coming end of the world, those movements that were Bible-based tended to be socially conservative. Indeed, the early Seventh-day Adventist church, main heir to the Millerite movement, proved very conservative, except on the issue of slavery. The Latter-Day Saints were never a revolutionary force, despite the defensive postures forced on them in America by persecution.¹⁰²

It is usually contended that millenarianism flourishes best in times of crisis. The crisis may be economic, social, political, or personal.¹⁰³ The French Revolution and its aftermath provided such crises.¹⁰⁴ The central tenet of the premillennialist understanding of history was that the Roman Catholic church shared a place in the apocalyptic hall of infamy with Islam. These beliefs, going back to the Puritans and beyond, engendered a deep distrust of the Roman Catholic church, especially as Catholic emancipation seemed to be opening the way

102. Yonina Talmon, 'Pursuit of the Millennium: The Relation between Religion and Social Change', European Journal of Sociology, Paris, 3(1962), 125-48, shows that millenarianism is not always linked to or a prelude to political action.
103. Hempton, 'Evangelicalism', p.182. The cholera revivals of 1832-33 and 1849 were not millenarian, but demonstrate the flight to religion in times of panic, Carwardine, pp.82,88-89,119; Howard B.Weeks, Adventist Evangelism in the Twentieth Century (Washington, DC, 1969), pp.84-90,99,107,151,197, for peaks in World War I, the depression and World War II, and troughs in times of prosperity.
104. Garrett, Respectable Folly, Chapter VI, 'The Millenarian Tradition in English Dissent'; PFF, II, 725; Orchard, pp.24,64,71; Reeves, Joachim, p.167; James A.De Jong, As the Waters Cover the Sea: Millennial Expectations in the Rise of Anglo-American Missions, 1640-1810 (Kampen, The Netherlands, 1970), p.160.

to papal predominance in England. The 'papal aggression' of 1850 served to confirm anti-Catholics in their beliefs. Preachers could rely on anti-Catholicism for getting some sympathy from a crowd, but being against popery, which they hardly understood except as a term of abuse, did not drive people into millenarianism.

The tendency to political and social conservatism among evangelicals was even stronger amongst some of the foremost expositors of prophecy. As they believed things would go from bad to worse before the advent, it was natural that any changes should be interpreted gloomily. The Reform Bill of 1832 and the rise of Chartism raised the spectre of democracy, which in France had been associated with atheism.

J.W.Brooks inveighed against Socialists, Arians, Socinians, Neologists, Joanna Southcott, Tom, Dissenting chapels, and Mormons. Those who sought indications of whether society was getting better or worse found evidences for both. The presumptions of the reader governed his interpretation. Preoccupation with potential trouble was not merely a millenarian or even evangelical concern. W.E.Houghton wrote: 'The early Victorians lived under the shadow of revolution...It became a common place to think of the nation as divided against itself between the Rich

105. For a discussion of the earlier occurrences of the idea of the papacy as anti-Christ, Ball, English Connection, references under 'Antichrist', 'Little Horn', and 'Papacy'. especially pp.209-13; Watson, Reign of George III, pp.237-39,445; John Hunt, Religious Thought in England in the Nineteenth Century (1896), p.67.
106. Morning Watch, 4(1831),161-69; Hempton, 'Evngelicalism', p.185; QJP, 1(1848-49),73.
107. The Second Coming, the Judgement, and the Kingdom of Christ, edited by E.Bickersteth (1843), pp.137-60,172-75,182-83; Chadwick implies a connection between the Reform agitation in the early 1830s and an interest in the Apocalypse, Victorian Church, I, 36.
108. The 'Age of Unbelief' was discussed in a review of W.Palmer, A Compendous Ecclesiastical History (1841), and Edward Bickersteth, The Dangers of the Church of Christ, fourth edition (1840), British Critic, 31(1842), p.93; Pym, a premillennialist, noted the remarkable features of the present age, listing more good than bad, Good Things to Come, pp.v-viii.

and the Poor'. Alan Everitt speaks of 'a certain haunting sense of loneliness'.¹⁰⁹ Hempton has pointed out the difficulty of deciding if political circumstances promote prophetic views, or if prophetic views produce political circumstances.¹¹⁰ The views of some writers appear to have been influenced by events. Timothy Dwight in the patriotic days of the Revolution was optimistic. Jefferson and infidelity made him gloomy. The Second Great Awakening led him to postpone the millennium to A.D. 2000, but the war of 1812 renewed his dormant chiliasm. James Bicheno was not a millenarian in the 1780s. The French Revolution converted him to those views. In the long period of peace following Waterloo, the old confidence in human progress was shaken among some Evangelical Anglicans. A sense of failure, which drove men like Edward Bickersteth to millenarian conclusions,¹¹¹ drove Newman to Rome.

Some have seen the pessimist as moving toward premillennialism, 'passive, pessimistic and fatalistic' and the 'optimistic and activist' toward millennialism.¹¹² To the present writer, this generalization seems unsound. There were passive and active persons of both persuasions, and the millenarians' interest in missionary work has been well

109. The Victorian Frame of Mind, 1830-1870 (1957), p.239; Everitt, The Patterns of Rural Dissent in the Nineteenth Century (Leicester, 1972), p.109.

110. 'Evangelicalism'. p.184.

111. Kenneth Silverman, in Davidson, Logic, p.27; Vereté, 'Restoration of the Jews', p.5; on Bicheno, p.73; Christian Remembrancer, 7(1844), 163-83 (p.177).

112. Ronald Graybill, 'Millenarians and Money: Adventist Wealth and Adventist Beliefs'. Spectrum, 10, no.2 (1979), 31-41 (p.36); Whitney R. Cross called American Adventism 'the compensatory dream of persons who had abandoned lesser reforms in despair', The Burned-Over District, second edition (New York, 1965), p.317; Malcolm R. Thorp rejects the theory, pace E.P. Thompson, that Mormonism was a reflex of despair, 'The Religious Background of Mormon Converts in Britain, 1837-52', Journal of Mormon History, 4(1977), 51-66 (p.64); George Shepperson, 'The Comparative Study of Millenarian Movements', in Sylvia L. Thrupp, editor, Millennial Dreams in Action (The Hague, 1962), 44-52 (p.45).

enough established to show that the waiting for the second coming was not to be in idleness. It remains true that the premillennialist appears to adopt a world-denying view, while the belief in gradual betterment is world-affirming. However, these terms are liable to shifts of interpretation. The Catholic who adopts the religious life is in one sense world-denying; yet might claim that by dying to certain aspects of the world he more truly affirms the real world. It could be argued that some people sought refuge in millenarian beliefs because of an inability to face the world as it was. An escape to an idealized medievalism was perhaps an alternative to millenarianism. In earlier times they might have sought the religious life to flee temporal pressures. These may all be regarded as forms of 'emigration'.¹¹³

David Brown, the postmillennialist most widely noted by millenarians, believed that

there are certain minds, which, either from constitutional temperament, or artificial training, the particular school of theology to which they are attached, or the views which they have been led to take of certain doctrines, have got what we may call premillennial tendencies, requiring but to have the doctrine fully laid before them to embrace it almost immediately con amore...There are next, your curious and restless spirits, who feed upon the future...They are in their very element when settling the order in which events should occur, separating the felicities of the kingdom into its terrestrial and celestial departments...and there are those who seem to have a constitutional tendency to materialize the objects of faith, and can hardly conceive of them save as more or less implicated with this terrestrial platform...To such minds... (premillennialism) carries the force of intuitive perception: they

113. Hempton, 'Evangelicalism', p.192, notes the missionary and social concerns of premillennialists like Bickersteth and Lord Shaftsbury on the one hand, and the very negative attitude of the Morning Watch; for the argument that prophetic thought heavily influenced the outlook of the 18th century New Englander with sharp differences in outlook between pre- and postmillennialists, Davidson, Logic, pp.29-31, 276-80; e.g. the Young Tory idealized past, cited in Inglis, Churches...Working Classes, p.5; compare Hans Küng, On Being a Christian (1978), pp.192-201.

feel - they know it to be true.

There were also tendencies to be seen among the anti-premillennialists, even writers on the subject. To these minds

the inspired text...presents no rich and exhaustless field of prayerful and delighted investigation...and whatever Scripture intimations regarding the future destiny of the church and of the world involve events out of the usual range of human occurrences...are almost instinctively overlooked or softened down...Now such persons may be right, in point of fact, in their estimate of premillennialism; but the cast of mind which they bring to the subject has...its own dangers; it has no tendency to conciliate those whom it strives to enlighten; and is, in many respects, far from enviable. 115

To opponents, the millenarian heresy 'is the retention in Christianity of the low Judaic notion of a Millennium of near earthly blessedness'.¹¹⁶ The Christian Guardian distinguished between certain few clear prophecies such as the destruction of Tyre and Nineveh and the majority of prophecies 'veiled in such mysterious obscurity that they must be unfolded by fulfilment before they can be seen or understood... The foreknowledge necessary for the right interpretation of prophecy is as great a gift as that of prophesying, for each are but different forms of inspiration'. The time of the first advent was not predicted, and why should the time of the second? The resurgence of papal power proved false those who proclaimed the French Revolution as the fall of Babylon and the man of sin. Interpretations had to be adjusted from year to year, and seldom did two interpreters agree. The danger was that these speculations might 'lead many into the snare of resting quietly, waiting

114. David Brown, Christ's Second Coming: Will it be pre-millennial? (Edinburgh, 1849), reviewed and contrasted with Horatius Bonar, The Coming and Kingdom of the Lord Jesus Christ; being an examination of the work of the Rev. D.Brown, on the Second Coming of the Lord (Kelso, Edinburgh, and London, 1849), in AH, 15 Feb.1851,p.4; Sandeen, p.83; compare Evangelical Magazine, 24(1846),416-17; 26(1848),686-88.

115. AH, 15 Feb.1851,p.4.

116. John Henry Blunt, Dictionary of Sects (1874), pp.328-29.

for the manifestation of Christ's coming, and leaving the good fight of faith, which is now beginning with redoubled energy on each side'. John Angell James and even the millenarian Bickersteth expressed the same fear.¹¹⁷ This summed up the main arguments against millenarianism which were being used and would be used increasingly. The Bible Advocate gave the practical argument that the gospel workers were too tired at the end of a day of preaching the first advent to work out the chronology of the second.¹¹⁸

The biographer of William Anderson noted that dissatisfaction with postmillennialism began to be felt by ministers in both England and Scotland. In Anderson's case the influence of Cuninghame and Edward Irving was reinforced by his temperament, burdened with the weight of sin on the world and feeling that missions were progressing too slowly. He felt that the 'Kingly element in the Mediatorial character of Christ was greatly overlooked'. His inclination to the view of Hades as the intermediate state may have induced a yearning to meet on earth the Lord whom he would not otherwise see 'till the far off and indefinite Judgment Day'. His 1841 sermon on 'the prospect of the world' showed harsh language towards his opponent Robert Owen. The 'gloomy onesidedness' in viewing the progress of evil, 'and the fearful stress which he lays upon the Second Advent as the only conceivable counterweight to the Superstition, Atheism, and Licentiousness of the Times, are really appalling'.¹¹⁹

Recruits to millenarian sects often had a history of spiritual

117. 'Millenarianism', Christian Guardian, 38(1846), 319-29 (p.328); Carwardine, p.98; T.R.Birks, Memoirs of the Rev. Edward Bickersteth, third edition, 2 vols (1852), II, 43; Billington, 'Millerite Adventists', p.193.

118. Bible Advocate, 2(1848), 80.

119. G.Gilfillan, Life of the Rev. William Anderson (1873), pp.66-68, 126-27.

search before joining the sect which at the time seemed the end of their journey. Examples of this can be found among Mormons, Christadelphians,¹²⁰ Millerites, and others. We do not know enough of the inner struggles of the clergy who wrote on millenarian themes. John Henry Newman and S.R.Maitland passed through a phase of millenarianism, but shed this on their spiritual pilgrimage. Was Newman reacting to Evangelicalism as a whole, or especially the millenarian concomitant?¹²¹

The strongly anti-Catholic basis of the standard premillennialist exegesis, and the doubts cast upon its historical accuracy and hermeneutical soundness by the research of S.R.Maitland and others alienated some former believers. Maitland's work 'brought about a gradual retreat rather than a dramatic victory'.¹²² Louis Gaussen, a Swiss premillennialist, believed that those who discounted the second coming did so 'to avoid the testimonies of the Word...against the Man of Sin'.¹²³

The historicist interpretation has often been linked with an interest in heretical groups of earlier centuries. If Rome were the persecuting little horn of Daniel 7, then those who opposed her became honoured as, in political terms, 'freedom fighters', and the evangelical nature of their teaching was assumed. Elliott defended the Paulicians. T.K.Arnold sought to prove them dualists. Faber wrote on the Ancient Vallenses. Maitland mercilessly attacked deficient scholarship on the

120. See Chapter IX.

121. J.H.Newman, Apologia pro Vita Sua, edited by Martin J.Svaglic (Oxford, 1967), pp.18,20; T.F.C.Stunt, 'John Henry Newman and the Evangelicals', JEH, 21(1970),65-74; Oliver, Prophets, pp.142-49; Oddy, 'Eschatological Prophecy', pp.117,129.

122. Orchard, p.166; PFF, III, 659.

123. AH, 2 Dec.1846,p.133.

subject. The debate continues.

Economic explanations would be tempting if a correlation between trade cycles and millenarianism in the nineteenth century could be clearly shown. This has been attempted in the case of the Millerite movement in the United States, and Eric J. Hobsbawm and E.P. Thompson have hypothesized a link in England. The great Methodist recruitment between 1790 and 1830 may be seen as the 'chiliasm of despair'.¹²⁵ Harrison concludes that the relationship between the growth of millennialist sects and cycles of economic boom and slump in the first half of the century was 'ambivalent'.¹²⁶ Carwardine believes depression was bad for revivals, but denies a clear correlation between the two. Alan Gilbert rejects Thompson's belief in the 'floating voters' who oscillated between chapel and other movements. Bryan Wilson believes that 'a religious economic determinism is insufficiently subtle to explain religious phenomena; other factors are involved in the genesis and pullulation of religious sects'.¹²⁷

Revival and millenarianism may be connected, but were not so linked in the work of Caughey and Finney. For the 'students of prophecy' there were no strong economic pressures, and the ebb and flow noted for Methodist accessions is not applicable to that coterie of writers.

Elmer T. Clark stated that 'Adventism is the typical cult of the

124. PFF, I, 937-52; III, 661-63; Oddy, 'Eschatological Prophecy', pp. 124-29; D. Casebolt, 'Ellen White, the Waldenses and Historical Interpretation', Spectrum, 11, no.3 (1981), 37-43; responses in 12, no.3 (1982), 58-59.
125. On America, see Chapter III; Thompson, Working Class, pp.427-30, 917-23; Michael Hill, A Sociology of Religion (1973), p.205; compare Thompson's hypothesis with that of Hobsbawm, Primitive Rebels (Manchester, 1959), pp.129-30.
126. Robert Owen, p.133.
127. Carwardine, pp.54, 82; Gilbert, 'Growth and Decline of Nonconformity', pp.196-97; Wilson, Sects & Society (1961), p.5.

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disinherited and suffering poor'. However, studies of Mormon and Christadelphian recruitment in Britain show that it was not from the very poor that most of the members came. Mormon literature contained a strong appeal to economic betterment through emigration. The Christadelphian and Millerite papers in Britain noted the wretchedness under which many people lived, but did not draw attention to the second advent as the end of misery. There was one British Millerite statement that could indicate a religion of envy: '...we shall be rich enough soon'¹²⁹

Ronald Graybill found evidence to show that the Seventh-day Adventists in Michigan in 1860 were above the average for the area in wealth and occupation. In the sample, only five percent of Millerite heads of household were labourers, against a regional figure of thirty-one percent. His findings support Sandeen's conclusion: 'Neither the British nor the American millenarians of the nineteenth century seem to have been people deprived of power, nor potential revolutionaries, nor, most significantly, threatened with destruction. Instead they were often well-to-do, if not wealthy'.¹³⁰

Gary Schwartz has studied the later economic development of Seventh-day Adventists and Mormons. The Mormon flair for organization was already apparent in the 1840s in Britain.¹³¹ On a different social level, John Wigley notes that the Sabbatarians of the nineteenth century appeared to come from those who had felt financial insecurity and had been threatened by new sources of wealth and political strength. They came from a highly introverted religious culture. J.H.Newman, son of an

128. The Small Sects in America (New York, 1949), p.25.

129. EAH, 1 Sept.1846, p.22.

130. 'Millenarians and Money', p.35; E.R.Sandeen, 'Millennialism' in Edwin S.Gaustad, editor, The Rise of Adventism (New York,1975), p.111.

131. Sect Ideologies and Social Status (Chicago, 1970), quoted in Graybill, 'Millenarians and Money', pp.37-38.

ex-clerk, failed banker and country brewer, was unable to stay within the confines of Anglicanism. Keble, Pusey, and Froude, all from a landed background, remained. The Bickersteths were the third and fourth sons of a man who before ordination had worked in a post office. Bishop Daniel Wilson and J.C.Ryle both had roots in the silk trade. There is a field of investigation into the association between Sabbatarianism and the 'students of prophecy', and the economic and social backgrounds of the students.¹³²

The extent of millenarianism is hard to gauge, partly because interest ranged from fervent preaching, even of likely dates for the advent, to scholarly and speculative interest. Some religious journals managed to avoid the subject of apocalyptic and books on that theme, but the Christian Observer and Church of England Quarterly Review gave space and sympathetic reviews. The Evangelical Magazine believed that the great interest in prophetic subjects shown by many good men must indicate 'some special periods of prophetic development close at hand'.¹³³

Newspapers found sermons or lectures on prophecies interesting, but not remarkable, unless the speaker or his audience were sensational.¹³⁴

Familiarity with apocalyptic symbols was assumed by the painting exhibited by Francis Danby in Bristol depicting the opening of the sixth seal.¹³⁵

The Mormons complained that their preachers were apt to 'preach beasts, heads, horns, goats, etc', instead of concentrating on

132. 'English Sabbatarianism'. pp.88-89.

133. Evangelical Magazine, NS 27 (Mar.1849),p.132; British Magazine, 32(1847), 306-21,562-72,666; on journals dealing with prophecy, PFF, III, 786-89.

134. Leeds Times, 2 Mar.1844,p.4.

135. A Newspaper generally hostile to 'enthusiastic' religion, spoke of 'the feeling of solemnity which pervades the multitude that constantly attends...to see this extraordinary picture', FFB, 21 Sept.1844,p.3; compare Bristol Mercury, 27 Jan.1844,p.8; Francis Danby (1793-1861), 'An attempt to Illustrate the Opening of the Sixth Seal', Royal Academy, 1828. Now in National Gallery, Ireland.

Mormon teachings. Mormons in London noted that their second advent teaching reminded listeners of Robert Aitken.¹³⁶

In the absence of statistics, writers recorded impressions of the interest they saw. A figure of 700 premillennialist Church of England ministers occurs with some frequency, but its factual base seems insecure. In 1828 the midnight cry was being given from a hundred pulpits. An unnamed member of the Church of Ireland stated that nearly all the episcopal clergy there held premillennialist doctrines. J.W.Brooks believed that by 1836 'the voice of the church...[had] become unequivocally millenarian'.¹³⁷ E.B.Elliott contrasted the attitude to millenarian views between 1827, when Edward Irving first published *Lacunza*, and 1844, the date of the first edition of *Horae Apocalypticae*, when such ideas no longer seemed 'strange and half heretical', but 'had deeply penetrated the religious mind...and seemed gradually advancing to triumph'.¹³⁸ A Millerite Adventist writing from Nottingham in 1846 noted a widespread expectation of the advent. By contrast, Joshua Himes, a Millerite writing from London, thought agitation on the subject had waned since Irving's time.¹³⁹

While the Establishment contributed the greatest number of writers on prophecy, there was a current of millenarian Nonconformists, some of

136. *LDSMS*, 8(1849), 101; Oliver, *Prophets*, p.221.

137. *Lively*, 'Catholic Apostolic Church', pp.292-93; Mourant Brock, *Glorification* (1845), pp.10-11; *Voice of Truth and Glad Tidings*, Rochester, NY (hereafter *VTGT*), 3 Dec.1845, p.545, reporting a conversation between Rev. Hutton of Woburn and W.C.Burgess, a Millerite preacher; Henry Drummond, *Dialogue on Prophecy*, 3 vols (1827-29), II, 17-18; the figure for England (perhaps loosely for Britain) was sometimes given as over 1,000, Wellcome, p.536; the *Dublin Christian Herald*, gave a figure of 100 protestant ministers, *PFF*, III, 579,592; J.W.Brooks, *The Elements of Prophetic Interpretation* (1836), p.104.

138. *Horae Apocalypticae; or, A Commentary on the Apocalypse*, fourth edition (1851), in Murray, *Puritan Hope*, p.197.

139. *AH*, 8 April 1846, p.67; *EAH*, 1 Sept.1846, p.21.

whom either did not break into print, or whose works are lost or obscure. James W. Walker, a former Methodist, and, at the time of writing, anti-slavery and a follower of Joseph Barker, noted that before he left England he had 'well nigh become infected by the wild and mendacious doctrine of Millenarianism, by the constant preaching of the subject by T. Smith'.¹⁴⁰ Thomas Collins, a Wesleyan, preached in 1843¹⁴¹ giving calculations of the 1260 days with 1860 as the climactic year. James Scott, himself a millenarian, writing in 1844, thought 'the visible churches of Christendom are at this time apparently as little¹⁴² expecting the coming of the Lord, as the antediluvians...the deluge'.

Froom, writing from an extensive knowledge of the sources, wrote of a collapse of interpretation towards the 1840s. This might seem to be borne out by the demise of prophetic journals at that time. However, Froom is really speaking of a change away from the historicist model he favoured to futurism and dispensationalism. As the years 1843-1847 neared, there seemed to be a shift of emphasis to a later date, especially 1867. Cuninghame believed that by 1843 'the voice of prophecy ... [had] been in some measure quenched by Irvingism and Puseyism', although in 1841 the Eclectic Review examined seven titles on unfulfilled prophecy.¹⁴³ A correspondent in the Biblical Inquirer observed 'a mighty hustle in the camp of sectarianism about dates and chronologies as¹⁴⁴ though we were approximating to an important crisis'. Some observ-

140. The Christian, 1 Nov. 1847, p. 238.

141. Samuel Coley, The Life of the Rev. Thomas Collins, second edition (1869), p. 208.

142. James Scott, A Compendious View of the Scriptural System of Prophecy (Edinburgh, 1844), p. 392.

143. PFF, III, 724-25; IV, 417-28; W. Cuninghame, A Dissertation on the Seals and Trumpets, fourth edition (1843), p. 258; Eclectic Review, 9(1841), 435-50; compare the circulation of Henry Gauntlett's Exposition of the Book of Revelation in the 1820s (1821).

144. Biblical Inquirer, 1 Nov. 1845, p. 214.

ers noted a revival of interest stirred by the upheavals of 1848. In 1849 the 'stream of religious publications sets very strongly...in the direction of unfulfilled prophecy'. Three years later the press still teemed 'with expositions of the Apocalypse and...little else of a religious nature'.¹⁴⁵

Early nineteenth century millenarianism has to be seen in a broader context than Britain alone. Sandeen compares the usual causes - Catholic Emancipation and the Reform Act - of the outbreak of millenarian excitement, 1828-1832, with the causes suggested for the Millerite movement in America. 'If the same kind of movement developed in the two countries during the same years, some broader and more comprehensive explanation seems to be necessary.'¹⁴⁶ There seems little hope of a generally accepted explanation of a religious phenomenon.

145. 'The Schools of the Prophets', reprinted from the The Times, in Herald of the Kingdom and Age to Come, 10(1860),36-41; CEQR, 23(1848),443-68; 26(1849),257-58; 32(1852),1.
146. Fundamentalism, p.58; for European instances of revivalism/millenarianism: David Carlsson, Roparna (Gävle, Sweden, 1978); Francois R.L.Gaussen (1790-1863): PFF, III, 687-700; Johan Richter (1799-1847): PFF, III, 701-03.

CHAPTER II
KEYS TO DANIEL AND THE APOCALYPSE

Before the Millerites can be understood, it is essential to review the principles common to the many groups and thinkers who sought to interpret the prophecies in an historicist sense. The discussion of the general principles is followed by an examination of the major prophecies of concern to historicists. We are in a thought climate where it could be accepted as axiomatic that 'Prophecy is history in advance. History¹ is the record of prophecy fulfilled.'

1. Historicist Principles of Interpretation

The historicist assumes the plenary inspiration of the scriptures, whether believing in the verbal inspiration of the text as now available, a Bible inerrant in the autographs, or thought inspiration which admits minor inaccuracies and inconsistencies both in the original and in the copies. 'German neologism', the forerunner of higher criticism or the historical-critical school, was destructive of the historicist position. Sandeen sees the modern fundamentalist stance as an outgrowth² of the interest in prophetic studies in the nineteenth century. The historicist assumes the traditional date for the book of Daniel, treats it as a unity, and rejects the Porphyry thesis. There is often a predilection for the Authorised Version. Differences of views on the date of composition of the Apocalypse are reflected in differences in

1. The Advent Testimony, edited by J.B.Cook, 1 (1846), 2.
2. On historicist methods of interpretation, T.R.Birks, First Elements of Sacred Prophecy (1843); Brooks, Elements of Prophetic Interpretation; Beckford, Trumpet of Prophecy, pp.197-99; Sandeen, pp.188-207.

prophetic interpretation. Elliott's Horae Apocalypticae and Moses Stuart's Commentary on the Apocalypse were contrasted in the Biblical Review.³

There are historicists who will concede that Antiochus Ephiphanes may feature in the book of Daniel, but argue for the apotelesmatic principle whereby an apocalyptic prophecy may receive more than one fulfilment. Antiochus is considered too minor a character in the drama of history to exhaust the sweep of Daniel's portrayal of the conflict of good and evil. The large space occupied by prophecy is evidence of its importance.⁴ The historicist tends to emphasize that his is the apostolic interpretation and the only one that squares with the scriptures. 'The presuppositions of conservative theologians...are provided by Scripture itself, whereas those of the other groups are not.' The spiritual expositions of the Apocalypse were 'vague, pointless, utterly worthless from their having no practical bearing and leading to no practical results'. A mere spiritual fulfilment of the prophecies concerning the return to Canaan would add nothing to the evidences of Christianity, but if the ransomed should return to Zion, it would be an everlasting sign.⁵ For the historicist, neglect of the Apocalypse was

3. Alexander McCaul, Reasons for Holding Fast to the Authorized English Version (1857); on the dating and interpretation of Daniel, Ford, pp.31,36-39,67,174; IDB, V, 206; on the impact of higher criticism, Carwardine, pp.140-41; compare the Christian Observer, 45(1846),719-20; Biblical Review, 1(1846), 169,206-14,259-68,347,446-57.
4. Thomas Goodwin, cited in Davidson, Logic, p.49; Richard Hutchinson, a Millerite, accepted the possibility of Birks's suggestion that the little horn of Daniel 8 might typify both Antiochus and Roman Empire, AH, 14 Oct.1846,p.77.
5. 'The Apostolicity of Chiliasm', QJP, 1(1848-49),105-13; British Magazine, 27(1845), 501-08; for unfavourable views on futurism and preterism, QJP, 1(1848-49),vi,38-56; Ernest F.Kevan, cited in Ford, p.45; CEQR, 31(1852),265; 'Perplexities of the spiritualizing system', Time of the End, May 1845,p.61.

due to the gradual departure from the primitive faith in those things of which the book is full. To profit from study of Revelation the reader must be convinced of three things: that Christ will really return in person to this earth, that at the advent the dead in Christ shall be raised and the living changed, and that with the earth renewed by fire⁶ the millennium shall begin. The historicist believes prophecy is predictive and it is possible to relate specific nations and events to the predictions. The predictive prophecies centre around God's people, whether Israel before Christ or the Church after. The promises to Israel will be fulfilled, though expositors differ as to the way. Rules are needed for ascertaining which prophecies refer exclusively to the people of Israel, which have a further reference to the kingdom of Messiah, and which in addition relate to the spiritual circumstances of individual believers. Daniel covers the whole period from the return of the Jews to the end of the world, but the Apocalypse fills in the picture after the close of the seventy weeks.⁷

The time prophecies of the apocalyptic books were generally interpreted on the year-day principle. This principle was also applied to certain prophecies relating to Israel and to 'the times of the Gentiles'. As a rule, symbols should be taken literally wherever possible, but there were differences of opinion on what was figurative and what should be interpreted literally. For example, the millennium of Revelation 20 was variously interpreted as one thousand literal years, 360,000 or 365,000 years on the year-day principle. Then the symbols themselves had to be understood. In some cases explanations of the symbols were

6. CEQR, 25(1849),8; 30(1851),251-52, The six points of the Albury conference expositors (1828-29) are summarized in PFF, III, 456.
7. Christian Observer, 23(1823),218; CEQR, 14(1843),455-56.

given in the text (Revelation 17.15). In other cases expositors were given more freedom of speculation.⁸ Birks thought the expositor's duty was to explain the literal interpretation of the Old Testament and then confirm it by scriptural argument. The figurative terms, the symbolic nature of some prophecies, and the analogical or typical explanation presented difficulties. There were five reasons for establishing the truth of the literal interpretation: the injunction of Habakkuk 2.2 to make the vision plain; the prophecies were publicly addressed, not secretly; the apostles were expected by Christ to take the prophecies literally; past prophecies to the Jews had been fulfilled; prophecies were fulfilled in Christ.⁹

The Christian Observer felt the literary rules were often stressed. The writer pointed out the moral rules. The student should cherish deep humility, repress vain and useless curiosity, and guard against rashness of interpretation. The prophecies should be read, like all other parts of Scripture, practically rather than speculatively; they should be read in due proportion. The prophetic portions were to be studied, like every other part, as a portion of one comprehensive whole. The student must walk closely with God and pray diligently for the instructions of the Holy Spirit.¹⁰

Expositors should not treat as fulfilled prophecy events occurring

8. The contrasting theories of Samuel McCorkle, James Begg, and Miller are noted in PFF, III, 560-64; IV, 260,264; William Brown Galloway believed the duration of the millennium was measured by the height of the walls of the new Jerusalem. 12,000 stadia, or generations of 30 years amounted to 360,000 years. It could also be calculated from the number of fruits of the tree of life, Apocalyptic Chart (1852).
9. Birks in Israel Restored, pp.58-65; compare CEQR, 21(1847),266-68.
10. Christian Observer, 23(1823),408-11.

in their own lifetime. The forty-five years since the French Revolution had falsified many theories based on that upheaval.¹¹ A 'too eager desire to fit every event as it comes to pass into the framework of prophecy...leads to a chameleon-like changeability, which brings the subject...into contempt'.¹² It was unwise 'to engross all prophecy to ourselves by crowding and crushing it all into a forced application to our own times'. However, ever since the publication of Birks's Mystery of Providence in 1848, events had been proving the soundness of his interpretation.¹³ 'We do not expect the chronology of any age to become clear and indisputable to them that lived during that age, as this would be walking by sight and not by faith.'¹⁴ No interpreter had the full answer.¹⁵

There were dangers in injudicious interpretations of prophecy. Matthew Habershon's idea that the death of the Duke of Orleans was the first thunder was cited as an example. British expositors might see their country in a role that transatlantic interpreters believed to be fulfilled by the United States.¹⁶ Birks noted the widespread uncertainty and doubt as to the true sense of scripture prophecies, and admitted their mysteriousness. Other causes of doubt were 'the variations of expositors, - the gross perversions of some, - the vague uncertain allegories of others, - and the currency of a false maxim, that all

11. ibid., 44(1845),17; compare 'How should unfilled prophecy be studied?', QJP, 1(1848-49),17-23.
12. The Christadelphian, 19(1842),345, cited in Wilson, 'Social Aspects', p.905.
13. CEQR, 23(1848),444; 25(1849),255-56.
14. CEQR, 32(1852),25.
15. Christian Observer, 42(1843),204-07.
16. ibid., 43(1844),536-38.

predictions when fulfilled are clear, and when unfulfilled, obscure and inexplicable'.¹⁷ There were the extremes of S.R.Maitland and his school, a total want of accuracy, and treating everything as spiritual, and Birks and his friends on the other hand, characterised by 'too servile an adherence to the letter, instead of the spirit and intent of the prophecy'.¹⁸

While many expositors propounded dates for various events, for perhaps the majority it was 'a fixed canon of interpretation that the precise time of his coming will be unknown to all'.¹⁹

Nineteenth century interpreters were usually conscious of indebtedness to their predecessors. A few bold spirits kicked away the ladder by which they had climbed, or levitated to an interpretative position by special revelation. The anonymous Guide to the Apocalypse, including a Refutation of All Extant Schemes of Interpretation and...outline of the Time was not well reviewed for its pretensions. D.N.Lord claimed that interpreters do not make 'formal enquiry respecting the nature of symbols and their peculiar laws'. Lord had discovered the key, he believed.²⁰ The restorationist or sectarian usually feels bound either to stress his originality or his link with primitive purity, arching over the years of apostasy. Some millenarian groups have been caught in the contradictory pressures of seeking to prove the originality of their thought, while trying to demonstrate its ancient roots. SDA have stressed the independence of William Miller from earlier and contem-

17. Review of and extracts from Two Later Visions of Daniel, in Church of England Magazine, 21(1846),182-85; Birks, in Israel Restored, p.46.

18. CEQR, 14(1843),453-54.

19. CEQR, 19(1846),475.

20. QJP, 6(1854),190-93; Theol. & Lit. Jnl, 1(1848-49),10-54 (p.51).

porary writing, yet researched to show that there was little original in his thought.²¹ By contrast, Jehovah's Witnesses and Herbert W. Armstrong's World Wide Church of God do not seek any roots in previous interpretations.

The following ten sections discuss some principles of interpretation and expositions of specific prophecies. Emphasis has been given to exegetes whose position was in some way similar to that of the Millerite Adventists.

2. The Year-Day Principle

Historicist interpreters distinguish between classical prophecy, where time periods are stated literally, as in the seventy years captivity foretold by Jeremiah, and apocalyptic prophecy where symbols are employed even for time. The preterist and futurist schools understand the times as literal, with reservations. William Shea has shown how the use of the year-day principle is the linking of prophetic interpretation basically developed through two main cycles. The first cycle concerned the seventy week period of Daniel 9.24-27, the second, the longer periods of Daniel. There is evidence from Qumran and Jewish pseudepi-²²grapha of a symbolic use of the 'seventy sevens'. The Septuagint translators understood the passage symbolically. From gives a list of Jewish expositors from Akiba Ben Joseph (A.D. 37-100) to Napthali Heoz

21. PFF, IV, 403-09, 672, 676; Andrew Fuller (1754-1815), claimed that he wrote his own conclusions before consulting other writers, PFF, III, 351.
22. William H. Shea, 'The Year-Day Principle: the Interpretation of Time in Apocalyptic Prophecies in the Bible' (Paper prepared for Seventh-day Adventist Bible Conference, Berrien Spring, MI, 1980), pp. 2, 3; PFF, I, 175; Theological Wordbook of the Old Testament, edited by R. Laird Harris and others, 2 vols (Chicago, 1980), II, 898-99.

Ben Jacob Elhanan (sixteenth century) who equated a day in certain time
²³
 prophecies with a calendar year.

This tradition passed over to the Christian church. Hippolytus (died c.236) understood the seventy weeks as 490 literal years, and he was followed in this by a line of writers such as Julius Africanus (c.240), Eusebius Pamphili (c.340), Polychronius (c.430), Jerome and
²⁴
 Theodoret. Ticonius was the first to apply the year-day principle outside the seventy weeks, taking the three and a half days of Revelation 11.11 as years. Augustine accepted that the seventy weeks reached
²⁵
 to the cross. Bruno of Segni (c.1049-1123) used Ezekiel 4.6 as justification for the year-day, applying it to Revelation 11.2,11 (the two witnesses). Joachim of Fiore took the 1260 days of Revelation 12.6 as literal years. This prophecy created an anticipation of great events to happen in A.D.1260. Arnold of Villanova (c.1235-c.1313) applied the year-day to the 2300 days of Daniel 8.14, apparently the first writer to
²⁶
 do so.

The application of the year-day interpretation was extended to other prophecies, such as the 1290 and the 1335 days of Daniel 12.11-12. Reformation expositors generally accepted the principle, and it became enshrined in the pages of Joseph Mede (1586-1638), one of the fathers of British and American interpretation. From Mede and Sir Isaac Newton the line of year-day expositions is unbroken to the time of William
²⁷
 Miller.

23. PFF, I, 184-240, especially p.194.

24. PFF, I, 268-81,456-59.

25. PFF, I, 471,487.

26. PFF, I, 562,713,751; Ezekiel 4.6 and Numbers 14.34 are still stock proof texts in defence of the principle, From Paradise Lost to Paradise Regained (New York, Watchtower, 1958), p.173.

27. PFF, II, 156-57,542-49; Toon, Puritans, pp.56-65; Orchard, pp.1-3,61-83; Ball, Great Expectation, has thirty-five page references to Mede.

The year-day concept posits a year of 360 days, which has no basis in any known Jewish calendar, despite the efforts of some early expositors so to justify it. The mathematics of the exposition are that the various periods listed in Daniel and the Revelation - 'a time and times and a dividing of time', or three and a half years (Daniel 7.25; 12.7; Revelation 12.14), 1260 days (Revelation 11.3; 12.6), forty-two months (Revelation 13.5) - all deal with persecution by an evil power, and it is concluded that they refer to the same episode in the history of the church. Forty-two months of thirty days agree with the 1260 day-²⁸ years. A few expositors argued that the prophetic year-day comprised 360 natural days. Birks produced ten arguments for a year of 365 days. The shorter period was not a natural unit of chronology, and contrary to scriptural analogies. This defence was printed in the Millerite Morning Watch.²⁹ Cuninghame and Birks quoted a Swiss mathematician, Jean Philippe Loys de Cheseaux who claimed that the 2300 and 1260 day periods³⁰ were related by lunisolar cycles.

The year-day interpretation was defended on the analogy of scripture principle, with reference to Numbers 14.34 and Ezekiel 4.6, and³¹ less frequently Leviticus 25.8. When Maitland attacked the year-day principle, it is worth noting that he dealt with the 1260 day period,

28. MCN, 10 Aug., p.53; W.W.Pym, Thoughts on Millenarianism (Hitchin, 1829), pp.30-31.
29. Prophetic Herald, 1 (1845-46), 525-27; compare E.Bickersteth, The Signs of the Times in the East (1845), p.25; Morning Watch (hereafter MW, successor to the the Midnight Cry, New York), 27 Mar. - 1 May 1845, pp.98-100, 106-07, 114-15, 122-23, 130-32, 138-39.
30. Cuninghame, On the Jubilean Chronology of the Seventh Trumpet of the Apocalypse...discoveries of Monsieur Cheseaux (Glasgow, 1834); idem, A Synopsis of Chronology from the Era of Creation to ... 1837 (1837), pp.2-4; compare Birks, First Elements, p.368; H.G.Guinness, PFF, III, 381-85, 427.
31. W.Barker, a British Millerite, produced a series of proofs, but the editor accepted only Numbers and Ezekiel as valid, EAH, 1 April 1847, p.64.

exculpating the mediaeval church, but not dealing with the seventy weeks of Daniel 9. There was a wide acceptance of this latter period as predictive of Messiah. E.B.Pusey fulminated against critics who sought to date Daniel in the era of Antiochus Epiphanes and he defended Daniel 9 as a messianic prophecy. To Birks the outlines of this prophecy were³² 'pre-eminently clear'. The pragmatic argument based on the period 457 B.C.- A.D. 34, or approximate dates, fulfilling Daniel 9, was³³ commonly used by defenders of the year-day principle. The Millerite Adventists employed this defence. 'The fulfilment of the prophetic periods, and the accomplishment of the prophecies with which they were connected has demonstrated the fact, that a prophetic time signifies a year of 360 days, and that each of these days represents a year of 365 days six hours.' The Millerite Josiah Litch claimed to have demonstrated the validity of the principle by predicting the collapse of³⁴ the Ottoman Empire in 1840.

Modern SDA are concerned to defend the principle without which the whole edifice of their teaching on the significance of 1844 in salvation

32. Orchard, pp.163-71; James Henthorne Todd, Discourses on the Prophecies relating to Antichrist in the writings of Daniel and St. Paul (Dublin, 1840), pp.116-19,169; 'Nullius' believed prophetic time was neither year-day nor literal, British Magazine, 31(1847),61-65; J.N.Darby, cited in Rowdon, Brethren, pp.52,57,n.125; E.B.Pusey, Daniel the Prophet, third edition (Oxford, 1869), pp.164-233; CEQR, 23(1848),454-55, where a distinction was drawn between the seventy weeks (year-day) and the periods of Daniel 12 (literal).
33. QJP, 6(1854),267-74; Samuel Langdon (1723-87) of Harvard considered the 70 weeks the strongest evidence for the year-day, also referring to Numbers 14.34 and Ezekiel 4.6, cited in PFF, III, 208; George Bush, cited in AH, 15 Mar.1851,p.37; Advent Shield and Review, Sept.1844,pp.181-89; Damsteegt, pp.65-68, for other Millerite arguments on the year-day.
34. ST, 15 May 1840, p.32. This prediction is discussed in Chapter VIII, Section 13.

history would collapse. The principle is also vital to the calculations of Jehovah's Witnesses.³⁵ Some SDA writers have suggested an element of conditionality in the long period from the expected parousia in the early church period to the present.³⁶ The majority prefer to see no conditionality before 1844, with the delay in the parousia subsequent to that period being governed by the 'harvest principle'. This means that God will not end the world until there is a people prepared to meet Him.³⁷

3. The Four Empires, Daniel 2 and 7

The simplest of the canonical apocalyptic prophecies is in Daniel 2, Nebuchadnezzar's dream of a metallic image. This was partly explained by the prophet as indicating a series of kingdoms starting with Babylon. In the days of the divided fourth kingdom, the God of heaven would set up an everlasting kingdom. Whether the traditional or late dating of Daniel is accepted, there is a declaration that history is linear; God will limit the sequence of man's empires.³⁸ Josephus seems to have been the first to list Babylon, Medo-Persia, and Greece and to hint at Rome as the fourth empire. Irenaeus accepted the same identification and Hippolytus linked the four metals with the sequence of beasts

35. Ford, pp.300-05, draws heavily on nineteenth century writers, contributing little new; Shea's paper, referred to above, is a fuller treatment; compare From Paradise Lost, p.173; T.K.Arnold called the principle 'the proton pseudos of that whole school of interpreters', and the reviewer noted that without the theory, the whole scheme collapses, British Magazine, 28(1845),241.
36. Don Neufeld, 'This generation shall not pass', Adventist Review, 5 April 1979,p.6.
37. On the 'harvest principle', Herbert Douglass, Why Jesus Waits (Washington, DC, 1976).
38. Ford, pp.30-41.

in Daniel 7. Jerome believed the sequence of kingdoms in both Daniel 2³⁹ and 7 to end with Rome. The above-mentioned series became the generally accepted belief of historicist interpreters. Those who have argued for the late dating of Daniel have taken the Median and Persian⁴⁰ empires to be separate entities, and end the sequence with Greece. This consorts better with the thesis that Antiochus was the little horn, rising from Greece. The historicist interpretation usually identified the little horn of Daniel 7 with the papacy and the little horn of⁴¹ Daniel 8 with Mohammed.

4. Twelve Hundred and Sixty Days

The 1260 day period was interpreted as literal time by Christian teachers until Joachim of Fiore, although Jewish scholars had applied⁴² the year-day principle to this and related periods. In Reformation times, Osiander dated the period from A.D. 412 to 1672. John Tillinghast ended the years in 1656. Drue Cressener began the years in Justinian's reign, concluding around 1800. The papacy would be struck at that⁴³ time. After the outbreak of the French Revolution, some expositors fastened on that event as the termination of the period. George Bell, writing in 1795, chose 1797, James Bicheno, 1789, and Edward King,⁴⁴ 1798. That the period represented the era of papal dominance, and the

39. Antiquities of the Jews, cited in PFF, I, 198; compare pp. 244, 271, 445-46, 456-57, 486; later Jewish expositors, PFF, II, 194; II Edras 12.10.

40. IDB, I, 765.

41. CEQR, 21(1847), 276, 278-79; Birks, First Elements, pp. 81-95; J.K. Kilpin thought there was general agreement on Daniel 2, but preferred Lacunza's suggestion that the nations succeeding Rome were the fourth empire, the powers in being when Christ returned, Evangelical Magazine, NS 21(1843), 439-42; Birks in Prophetic Herald, I(1845-46), 553-56.

42. PFF, I, 700, 712; II, 210.

43. PFF, II, 588-95; compare Ball, Great Expectation, pp. 188, 235.

44. PFF, II, 784-87.

French Revolution marked a temporary overthrow of that dominance, became⁴⁵ the standard Protestant historicist interpretation.

Expositors were then faced with the 1290 and the 1335 days of Daniel 12. Ingenuity was exercised to find an appropriate event in the 1820s to fit the ending of the 1290 days.⁴⁶ One view was that the millennium would be set up at the end of the 1290 days, and be fully established by the end of the 1335.⁴⁷ John Bayford thought of the seventy-five years as the time needed to cleanse the church and restore Jews and Gentiles as Judah and Israel. The 1335 days appeared to stretch into the 1860s.⁴⁸ Miller, seeking corroboration for the 1843 date for the advent, was forced to begin both the 1290 and the 1335 days in A.D. 508, for which some significance in the history of the Roman church was found. The terminus of the longer period then fell at the right date. Miller seems to have been the first to adopt this interpretation of the 1335 days.⁴⁹

A secondary explanation of the 1260 days was provided by J. A. Brown, who noticed that from the Hegira, 1260 Mohammedan years of 354 days would reach to 1843.⁵⁰ A later writer noticed that the Julian

45. 'all judicious interpreters are now agreed on 533...', CEQR, 32(1852),24; 14(1843),459; 31(1852),257,280.
46. Six vials were poured out between 1792 and 1822, T.Evill, CEQR, 19(1846),479-80; Biblical Review, 1(1846),322; Frere, Prophetic Herald, 1(1845-46),468-74.
47. MCN, 22 June,p.6, quoting Dr Scott, probably Thomas Scott.
48. John Bayford, Messiah's Kingdom, or, a Brief Enquiry Concerning What is Revealed in Scripture (1820), pp.110-11.
49. Working back from 1798, Uriah Smith, heir of the Millerite tradition and best-known SDA exponent of Daniel and the Revelation, noted the eminence achieved by Clovis (508), paving the way for an alliance of church and state, The Prophecies of Daniel and the Revelation (revised Nashville, TN, 1944), pp.323-30. Smith makes the 1335 days end in 1843 with the proclamation of Christ's coming by the Millerite Second Advent movement, pp.330-31; compare SDA BC, IV, 880-81; Ford, p.283, avoids dates or events for the two periods.
50. 'J.A.B.', in Christian Observer, 9(1810),669.

calendar reform was exactly 666 years before the Hegira, thus trying to find a chronological significance for the mysterious number of Revelation 13.8.⁵¹

5. Two Thousand Three Hundred Evenings and Mornings, Daniel 8.14

Following the French Revolution there was a shift in interpretive emphasis from the 1260 days to the 2300 days. The reason may be that many expositors saw the event of 1793-98 as the termination of the first period. An as yet unfulfilled prophecy now awaited explanation.⁵²

Daniel 8.14 was to be a key text in the Millerite expectation of the parousia. It named a period, 2300 days, and an event, the cleansing of the sanctuary. While Miller used at least five lines of prophecy to prove that the advent would occur in 1843-44, his largest group of successors have used only Daniel 8.14 as evidence of the significance of 1844.⁵³ Tracing the development of exposition of the 2300 days does not prove Miller's indebtedness to early expositors, though indicating its possibility or probability. It does help to explain how Miller's interpretations could find a measure of acceptance in the United States, and in a lesser degree, in England.

John Tillinghast considered the seventy weeks of Daniel 9 to be part of the 2300 days, but Johann Petri seems to have been the first to adopt a common terminus a quo, 453 B.C., with the longer period ending in 1847. In 1810 J. A. Brown made the 1260 and 2300 days coterminous in 1843. The 2300 days reached back to 457 B.C. at which the seventy weeks

51. CEQR, 14(1843), 459; 21(1847), 285; 'C.O.' dated the 1260 years from 532 to 1792, and also reached that date by taking 728 B.C. as the start of the 2520 years, and 508 B.C. as the start of the 2300 years, Christian Observer, 44(1845), 589-601, 781-83.

52. PFF, III, 10-11, 328.

53. Seventh-day Adventists Answer Questions on Doctrine (Washington, DC, 1957), pp. 14, 245, 259, 263, 265, 309, 433-34.

also began. Brown thought the crucifixion ended the seventy weeks; an American, William Cummins Davis (1760-1831) believed that it occurred in the midst of the seventieth week. From his datum point, A.D. 37, the end of the seventy weeks, he reached back to 453 B.C. and forward to 1847, the commencement of the millennium. Davis accepted that there could be an error in the dating of the 'vulgar era' which could bring the millennium four years earlier. Miller listed Davis with Irving as⁵⁴ 'key voices'.

Davis's book was reprinted in England in 1818, and here his ideas were adopted by Archibald Mason (1753-1831). The 2300 days ran from 457 B.C. to 1843. The dramatic significance of the latter date was rather overshadowed by a strained analogy from II Chronicles 29, so that while 1843 was the date of deliverance from popery, twenty-four years would pass until the blessed millennium in 1867, when the 1335 days also⁵⁵ expired.

Cuninghame in his earlier writings thought the 2300 days ended in 1792 coterminously with the 1260 days. In 1826 he accepted the possibility that the 2300 days would end in the complete cleansing of the sanctuary. Obviously this had not happened in 1792. No other dates seemed more probable than 457 B.C. to 1847. The Christian Herald accepted the dates 533 B.C. to A.D. 33 for the seventy weeks, with the⁵⁶ 2300 days extending to 1843.

54. PFF, II, 570-73, 715-17; IV, 209-10; Davis published The Millennium, or a Short Sketch of the Rise and Fall of Antichrist (Salisbury, NC, 1808, Workington, 1818); Miller, Evidence from Scripture and History of the Second Coming of Christ, About the Year 1843 (Troy, NY, 1838), p.193.
55. PFF, III, 396-404, summarizing five works by Mason.
56. Cuninghame, The Scheme of Prophetic Arrangements of the Rev. Edward Irving and Mr. Frere Critically Examined (1826), p.80; Christian Herald, 3(1832), 190-94; compare CEQR, 31 (1852), 259, 280.

Two main interpretations of the 2300 days developed among historicist exegetes. The first group considered that the termination in 1843 or 1847 was the close of prophetic time. The second and larger group accepted the termination in the 1840s, but believed time continued. The 1260, 1290 and 1335 days began synchronously and extended thirty and seventy-five years beyond the terminus selected for the 1260 days. 1792, 1822 and 1867 were popular dates for the ending of the respective periods.⁵⁷

Froom has listed seventy-five expositors who anticipated Miller's major findings. Thirty-eight writers ended the 2300 days in 1843 or 1844, and thirty in 1847. As Davis pointed out, the difference between 1843 and 1847 was a question of the understanding of the true date.⁵⁸ There was disagreement concerning what would happen between 1843 and 1847. The event was understood as the day of judgment (Petri, Cunningham, Christian Herald); the cleansing of the church (Henry Wood, Faber, Edward King, J. L. Wilson, A. C. Campbell and George Junkin); the freeing of Palestine, the return of the Jews, cleansing from Islam, and the fall of the Turks or Mohammedanism was a group of ideas centred round the understanding of Jerusalem as the sanctuary. James Bicheno, John Bacon, Alfred Addis, Robert Scott, J. H. Frere, Ethan Smith, Peter Roberts, William Girdlestone, Thomas Keyworth, Isaac C. Hinton, John Fry, Captain Maitland and Edward Vaughan held this view. William Pym, the Freewill Baptist Conference, Joseph Wolff and Richard Shimeall thought the event was the second advent or appearing of Christ. The

57. PFF, III, 704-05; IV, 404-05, for over fifty writers.

58. PFF, IV, 404-05; III, 392. The question of the 'true' date was raised by a number of expositors, including John Thomas, Gospel Banner, 1(1848),176; see Chapter VIII, Section 12.

destruction of popery, or of anti-Christ, was expected by Thomas Scott,
⁵⁹
 Samuel McCorkle, Jose M. De Rozas and John Robertson.

The typology of the Old Testament sanctuary service was applied to the end of time with the feast of trumpets, Day of Atonement and feast of tabernacles. A closer application was made to the Day of Atonement by a contributor at the Albury prophetic conferences. 'The High Priest coming out from the Holy of Holies...can represent nothing but Christ coming...without the sins of the people.'⁶⁰ John Tudor, a participant in the Albury conferences, concluded from Revelation 11.19 and 16.17⁶¹ that the anti-typical day of atonement was at hand. Frederick Nolan⁶² also stressed the significance of the services of the seventh month. The linking of Leviticus 16 with Daniel 8.14 was the key that for some explained the apparent failure of the 1844 prediction of the parousia.

6. The Seventy Weeks, Daniel 9.24-27

The Septuagint translators and the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs (c.100 B.C.) saw a messianic meaning in the seventy week period⁶³ 'determined upon' Daniel's people. In the early Church, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, Hippolytus of Rome, Origen and Eusebius calculated the period and understood the prophecy to refer to Messiah, though their interpretations varied. Hippolytus and Eusebius seem to have been

59. PFF, IV, 404-05; 'And who shall now call the expectation unreasonable, that before...(453 B.C. - 1847) few years from the present time, the Holy Land may be cleansed from the foul Mohammedan pollution', CEQR, 14(1843),457; PFF, III, 495.
60. PFF, III, 218,233,459; Drummond, Dialogues on Prophecy, I, 93; III, 120-48; Morning Watch, 1(1829),43-44.
61. Cited in PFF, III, 507-08.
62. The Time of the Millennium Investigated (1831), p.110.
63. Gerhard F. Hasel, 'The Seventy Weeks', insert in Ministry (Washington, DC, May, 1976), 1D - 24D (pp.14D, 19D, 20D); PFF, I, 456-57; Ford, however, sees the LXX as a manipulation of the text to strengthen an Antiochene interpretation, p.199, 217.

the first to introduce a gap between the sixty-ninth and seventieth week. This gap has become part of the modern dispensationalist interpretation.⁶⁴

In the early mediaeval Church, there were still expositors who understood the period as 490 years. There seems to have been little speculation on the subject in the later Middle Ages.⁶⁵ In the Reformation era Protestant scholars generally understood the period to end with Messiah. Johann Funck (1518-1536) of Nuremberg seemed to have been the first to date the weeks from 457 B.C. to A.D. 34.⁶⁶ These dates, or close approximations to them, were accepted by numerous nineteenth century expositors, including Brown, Faber, Habershon, Bickersteth and Louis Gaussen.⁶⁷ Other writers followed Matthew Hales in ending the period in A.D. 70.⁶⁸

Hasel points out that the historical and messianic interpretation still has its defenders among both Catholic and Protestant scholars.⁶⁹ The significance of the seventy weeks for the Millerites was that the dates 457 B.C. - A.D. 34 were among the most generally accepted among expositors, and provided a commencement for the 2300 days.

7. The Times of the Gentiles

The seven times of Leviticus 26.18 and the times of the Gentiles

64. PFF, I, 277, 365; III, 333-35; Hans K. La Rondelle, The Israel of God in Prophecy (Berrien Springs, MI, 1983), pp.270-82; against the gap theory, CEQR, 24 (1848), 217.
65. PFF, I, 894-95; II, 156-57; Alfred Addis, The Theory of Prophecy (1830), pp.169-70.
66. PFF, II, 430.
67. PFF, III, 744-45; IV, 392-93, 396-97, 846-47; G. S. Faber, A Dissertation on the Prophecy Contained in Daniel IX. 24-27; Generally Denominated the Prophecy of the Seventy Weeks (1811), pp.107, 316; CEQR, 14 (1843), 451.
68. 'J.K.' in Day Star, April 1845, pp.81-88.
69. Hasel, 'The Seventy Weeks', pp.14D, 20D; Ford, p.217, n.13.

(Luke 21.24) are here treated interchangeably. It was noted that the 1260 day period was half the 2520 (7 x 360) year-day period. The times of the Gentiles were the period of Israel's tribulation and their termination would bring deliverance, or at least a conspicuous sign of the end.⁷⁰

Frere ended the time with the revolutions of A.D. 1847-48. By this accommodation of dates he was able to connect his earlier calculation of the end of the 2400 [sic] days and the cleansing of the sanctuary in 1847 with the political upheavals of 1848.⁷¹

Brown identified the 2520 years with the seven times of Daniel 4.17, referring to the tree symbolizing Nebuchadnezzar. He began the period in 604 B.C.⁷² and extended it to 1917, a date later used by the Jehovah's Witnesses.

Lewis Way believed the stone would smite the image of Daniel 2 at the close of the time of the Gentiles.⁷³

Alfred Addis dated the seven times from 680 B.C. to 1840, a date that reappeared in connection with British Israelism.⁷⁴

William Digby's dates were 723 B.C. to 1793. He believed the 1260 were the second half of the period, commencing at 533

70. G. S. Faber, The Sacred Calendar of Prophecy: or a dissertation on the prophecies, which treat of the Grand period of Seven times, and especially of its second moiety or the latter three times and a half, 3 vols (1828); PFF, III, 340; n.76 below.

71. Frere, Eight letters on the Prophecies, relating to the last times (1831), pp.76-77; The Great Continental Revolution, marking the expiration of the Time of the Gentiles, A.D. 1847-48, first edition (1848); 'On the expiration of the Times of the Gentiles in 1847', Prophetic Herald, 1 (1845), 133-40.

72. J. A. Brown, The Eventide, or Last Triumph of the Blessed and only Potentate, the King of Kings; being a development of the mysteries of Daniel and St. John, 2 vols (1823), I, pp.xlii, xliii, 130-52; From Paradise Lost, pp.171-73.

73. The Jewish Expositor, 5 (1820), 28; PFF, III, 421.

74. Addis, Heaven Opened, or The Word of God: Being the Twelve Visions of Nebuchadnezzar, Daniel and St. John (1829), pp.4, 20; Philo Israel, An Inquiry Into the Truth of the Alleged Identification of the British Nation with the Lost Jews (1875), p.9, cited in J. Wilson, 'British Israelism', p.132.

with the decree of Justinian recognizing the pope as head of the church.⁷⁵ Cuninghame's dates were 673 B.C. to 1847, coterminous with the 2300 days.⁷⁶ W.R.Fremantle thought the days were almost expired, but gave no date.⁷⁷ A pseud-onymous contributor to The Morning Watch dated the 2520 years from the captivity of Israel under Esarhaddon in 677 B.C. to 1843.⁷⁸

This was followed by Habershon, Bickersteth, Birks and Pym in Britain, and Harriet Livermore, L.D.Fleming and George Junkin in the United States.⁷⁹ George Duffield suggested five starting points, from 731 to 677 B.C. with terminations from 1780 to 1843.⁸⁰ Richard Hutchinson,⁸¹ a Millerite, cited Habershon for the dates 677 B.C. to 1843. This dating, already pronounced by William Miller, was one of the proofs adduced for dating the parousia in 1843. Apollos Hale, a Millerite writer, referred to The Morning Watch, a 'rare work' in the United States, for an interpretation exactly the same as Miller's. It is not

75. Digby, A Treatise on the 1260 Days of Daniel and Saint John: being an attempt to establish the conclusion that they are years; and also to fix the date of their commencement and termination (Dublin, 1831), pp.26, 38, 39; for Jewish teaching on the seven millennia, TDNT, VIII, 19-20.
76. W. Cuninghame, The Fulfilling of the Times of the Gentiles: a conspicuous sign of the end (1847), p.1;
77. 'The Present Dispersion', in Israel Restored, p.275.
78. Ph. Homan, in Morning Watch, 1 (1829), 271-72; PFF, III, 502.
79. The Investigator, or Monthly Expositor and Register, on Prophecy, 5 (1836), 158-59, in PFF, III, 603; Matthew Habershon, A Dissertation on the Prophetic Scriptures, chiefly those of a chronological character; showing their aspect on the present times, and on the destinies of the Jewish Nation, first edition (1834), p.293; Edward Bickersteth, A Practical Guide to the Prophecies, sixth edition (1839), p.198; Birks, First Elements, p.254; the dates 677 B.C. - A.D. 1843 were endorsed in The Time of the End (Oct. 1844), p.5; W. Pym, A Word of Warning in the Last Days (1836), p.49. Pym referred to the works of Habershon and Cuninghame on the subject.
80. A Dissertation on the Prophecies Relating to the Second Coming of Christ (New York, 1842), pp.385-87; on Duffield, PFF, IV, 330.
81. The Throne of Judah Perpetuated in Christ (Montreal, 1843), p.17.

certain if he referred to the periodical or a book by that name, but⁸²
probably the former.

8. The Seventh Chiliad

The analogy of the seven days of creation week and seven ages of the earth's history, which was the germ of the millennial idea, also provided a key for dating the end of the age. This Jewish concept was adopted by certain of the early Church Fathers including Irenaeus. Augustine wrote of seven ages of the world, the pseudo-Joachim of 6000⁸³ years' duration of the world.

In the nineteenth century Faber extended the theory to mean that the days of creation were long periods of time, followed by a seventh,⁸⁴ the present age. Shimeall thought that each period was 6000 years,⁸⁵ the seventh extending from the creation of Adam to the millennium. Robert Scott, a former member of Wesley's 'Holy Club', and later a Baptist in America, calculated that Annus Mundi 5999 would be 1995. Alexander Campbell in later years accepted this date, believing the new⁸⁶ earth state would begin in 1996. The Mexican jurist Jose De Rozas⁸⁷ believed the 6000 years would end between 1843 and 1849. The Morning Watch applied Hebrews 4.9 to the seventh millennial day, which begins

82. SAM, p.34. The reference may be to the 1829 article in n.78 above.

83. Shea, 'Year-Day Principle', p.34; PFF, II, 191; Frederick Nolan, Time of the Millennium Investigated, pp.7-15; Samuele Bacchiocchi, From Sabbath to Sunday (Rome, 1977), pp.24-25; PFF, I, 487, 719.

84. A Treatise on the Genius and Object of the Patriarchal, the Levitical, and the Christian Dispensations (1823) in PFF, IV, 371.

85. Richard C. Shimeall (1842), in PFF, IV, 370-71.

86. Robert Scott, Free Thoughts on the Millennium or Grand Sabbatical Year of the World (New York, 1834), pp.17-18; PFF, IV, 322; The Millennial Harbinger, Bethany, VA, July 1862, pp.319-20; April 1836, p.159; PFF, IV, 258.

87. PFF, IV, 307.

the sabbatism of the universe. The text had nothing to do with the seventh-day weekly Sabbath, it was argued.⁸⁸ Jehovah's Witnesses taught that the 7000 year period would begin in the autumn of 1975 according to the Jewish year and be 'a great jubilee sabbath'.⁸⁹

9. The Great Jubilee

In the Levitical calendar, every seventh year was a sabbatical year, and at the end of a sequence of seven sabbatical years, or forty-nine years, the year of Jubilee was held. This year was associated with cancellation of debts, restoration of the inalienable inheritance and manumission of slaves.⁹⁰ Nicholas of Cusa (1400?-1464) applied the idea of jubilee to each year of Christ's earthly life, reaching the conclusion that the end of the world would be thirty-four times fifty years (the jubilee period) after the death of Christ. He thus arrived at about 1750, which he believed coincided with the end of the 2300 days, which began in 559 B.C. The idea was adopted by Osiander.⁹¹ Sir Isaac Newton showed interest in the jubilee year series, but did not adopt Cusa's dates. The anonymous 'R.M.' referred to the 'jubilee or cleansing of the sabbath', beginning the 2300 days in 558 B.C. and ending in 1742. Frere believed the Jubilee of Jubilees, a period of 2450 years, began in 603 B.C. with the fall of Jerusalem, and would end in 1847.⁹² The same period was held by an untraced writer in The Morning Watch to end in 1843 with the restoration of the Jews. The

88. Morning Watch, 3 (1831), 1; compare Frederick Nolan, 1831, PFF, III, 609-10.

89. Life Everlasting in Freedom, pp.29-30.

90. IDB, II, 1001-02; for the jubilee concept in the Qumran community, Shea, 'Year-Day Principle', p.4; Bacchiocchi, Sabbath to Sunday, pp.24-25.

91. PFF, II, 130-35, 299.

92. PFF, II, 664, 691; III, 458; Dialogues on Prophecy, I, 334-35; Prophetic Herald, 1 (1845-46), 136.

dates 607 B.C., once believed to mark the fall of Jerusalem, and 1843⁹³ were adopted by the Millerites as one of the five main time lines.

10. The Year, Month, Day and Hour

The prophecy of Revelation 9.15, the sixth trumpet, was understood by some expositors to refer to a period of time, rather than a point in⁹⁴ time, on the analogy of the five months in Revelation 9.5,10. On the year-day principle this was calculated as 391 years. With some exaggeration, a reviewer stated that 'men with one consent understand the fifth and sixth trumpet as signifying the Saracen and Turkish in-roads'.⁹⁵ The Turks, as champions of Islam and occupiers of the Holy Land, feature strongly in the historicist interpretations. The sixth vial or plague was to be poured on the Euphrates, part of the Ottoman⁹⁶ empire. The little horn of Daniel 8.9 was understood to refer to Islam by Faber, Thomas Scott, Frere, Brown, Bayford, Fry, Cooper, Vaughan, Keyworth, Hoare, Brooks, Keith, Cox, Habershon, Gaussen and Elliott. Some expositors sought a more highly symbolic meaning for the⁹⁷ term Euphrates.

Those who identified the events of the sixth trumpet as the rise of the Ottoman Turks commonly dated the 391 year period from 1453, the fall

93. Morning Watch, 1 (1829), 271-72; 607 B.C. is used by Jehovah's Witnesses as the start of the times of the Gentiles, From Paradise Lost, p.103; the generally accepted date is 587 or 586 B.C., IDB, II, 186; SDA BC, II, 97.
94. The AV reading suggests a period; the RSV, NEB, and NIV suggest a point in time; the Greek is rather obscure, SDA BC, VII, 796.
95. CEQR, 21 (1847), 265; 25 (1849), 254.
96. Grimshawe, in Israel Restored, p.29; Addis, Heaven Opened, pp.15, 21; Edward Bickersteth, Divine Warning to the Church (1842), pp.2-4; idem, Evidence from Scripture (1836), pp.49,52; MC, 13 April 1843, pp.14-15.
97. Andrew Jukes argued that Euphrates was an expression for the multitudes of Babylon, a system of national Christianity which calls the world Christian, British Magazine, 33 (1848), 481; Rowdon, Brethren, p.174.

of Constantinople, to 1843 or 1844. Among these were Charles Buck, Edward Whitaker, 'C.E.S.' in the Christian Observer, Fry, Brown, John R. Park, Thomas White, and Habershon.⁹⁸ John Thomas predicted the end of the 391 years to fall on 29 June 1848, which he claimed was, in 'true time', 1844. Russia was likely to make a move at that time against the sultan.⁹⁹

Miller, who collected as many evidences as possible for 1843, calculated the fifth and sixth trumpets running consecutively from 1298, the battle of Bapheum, to 1839. This was amended by Josiah Litch in 1838 to 11 August 1840.¹⁰⁰

11. 'About 1843'

Miller first dated the premillennial advent 'about 1843'. As was noted above, many expositors before Miller had chosen 1843, 1844 or 1847 for the close of the 2300 days. There were many who terminated other periods at these dates. Miller was thus far from alone in bringing together several prophecies to a common terminus. These included the 1260 and 1290 days, 391 days, and the time of the Gentiles. The various combinations of interpretation are most easily understood in tabular form.¹⁰¹ In 1836 Pym was certain that before 1847, 'Christ shall have come', a statement as emphatic as Miller's.¹⁰²

There were local expectations of a great event in the 1840s. Andrew Innes, a Buchanite carpenter, expected the return of Friend

98. Buck, PFF, III, 337; Whitaker, III, 338; Brown, IV, 404-06; 'CES', III, 293; Fry, III, 492; Park, III, 535; White, III, 501; 'JGO', III, 427; Habershon, III, 636-37.

99. Gospel Banner, 1 (1848), 175-76.

100. SDA BC, VII, 795; see Chapter VIII, Section 13.

101. PFF, IV, 404-05.

102. PFF, III, 574.

Mother in 1843. We do not know if 1843 had any special significance for
 103 the Buchanites, or whether Innes had worked out the date for himself.

The Southcottians expected the destruction of London in 1844 on the
 basis of a prophecy in 1804 due to be fulfilled after forty years. The
 104 disconfirmation was explained by an error in dating. 1842 was
 another date for the doom of London. The Millerites scornfully rejected
 105 this use of the seventy weeks of Daniel. Nostradamus made an 'awful
 106 prophecy regarding the losses in Britain in 1845'. J.N.Darby at one
 107 time believed the advent would occur in 1842. In a small town in
 Scotland the people were attending church almost daily, preparing for
 the advent in 1843, and distributing their goods. This could have been
 108 the result of Millerite literature.

1848, the year of revolutions, aroused expectations soon dis-
 appointed. The 'feverish excitement' of the period was shown in the
 assiduity in seeking Robert Fleming's book. The failure would excite
 109 deeper prejudice than ever against every form of prophetic enquiry.
 110 Frere was among those who wrote on the subject. The revolution
 'signalled the beginning of the end...the last time the revolutionary
 tocsin has been heard in France'. A third form of the beast was now
 111 awaited, a possible 'amalgamation of popery and Mohammedanism'. The

103. Harrison, Second Coming, p.36.

104. AH, 23 Sept. 1846, p.53.

105. ST, 1 June 1842, p.72.

106. North Devon Journal, 4 Jan. 1844, p.2.

107. Coad, Brethren, p.118.

108. MC, 30 Nov. 1842, p.3.

109. Benjamin W. Newton, The Prophetic System of Mr Elliott and Dr. Cumming Considered (1850), p.1; PFF, II, 642-49.

110. Frere in QJP, 1 (1848-49), 101-03. Frere had placed an advertisement in the Record, 21 Feb. 1848, predicting upheavals in Europe, cited in QJP, I (1848-49), 69; compare CEQR, 24 (1848), 214-25; Thomas had also challenged readers by a prediction for that year, Gospel Banner, 1 (1848), 176.

111. CEQR, 23 (1848), 443, 445-46, 457, 463.

events of 1848 were like the lifting of a veil, casting a steady ray of
 light on the prophecies.¹¹² These events were bound to facilitate the
 return of the Jewish people.¹¹³

It is plain that the years 1843-1848 attracted the attention of a
 great many earnest thinkers and writers about the biblical prophecies.
 How widespread were the effects of this concern in Britain is still not
 at all clear, but the succeeding pages throw some light on the question.
 The connection of the interest in prophecy with scientific advance
 (Robert Chambers published Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation
 in 1844), and possibly comparable religious agitations of other decades
 remain for others to investigate.¹¹⁴

112. CEQR, 25 (1849), 1.

113. CEQR, 32 (1852), 23.

114. Victorian Church, I, 565-67.

CHAPTER III

THE SECOND ADVENT MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES 1830-1855

1. William Miller and his Background

The Millerite movement in America has been fully chronicled and analysed, both apologetically and critically. The outline which follows does not attempt a re-interpretation. It is to provide background¹ without which the Millerite movement in Britain cannot be understood.

America was the 'Redeemer Nation', destined to lead the world to millennial glory. The Protestant view of history, centred on the pure church through the ages, and the eighteenth century growth of eschatological expectations combined to reinforce the idea of 'manifest destiny'.² Andrew Johnson, supporter of President Jackson, spoke of the 'political redemption of man' and the 'millennial morning'.³ In theology there was a shift from Calvinism to Arminianism after 1800. Finney, the revivalist, stated in 1835: 'If the church will do her duty, the millennium may come in this country in three years'. The emphasis

1. Millerite Adventist bibliographies in Richard W. Schwarz, Lightbearers to the Remnant (Mountain View, CA, 1979); Gaustad, Rise of Adventism; Ingemar Lindén, Biblicism, Apokalyptik, Utopi: Adventisms Historiska Utformning samt dess Svenska Utveckling till o.1939 (Uppsala, 1971); idem, The Last Trump (Frankfurt, 1978); Francis D. Nichol, The Midnight Cry (Washington, DC, 1944); Wellcome, Second Advent Message, is a well written account by a contemporary; the most detailed treatment of Millerite theology is Damsteegt, Foundations; Robin Theobald, 'The Seventh-day Adventist Movement: A Sociological Study with Particular Reference to Great Britain' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of London, 1979), has traced the rise of Adventism in America as a background to his main theme, and for this reason has not worked extensively in primary sources; Gallagher, 'Believing Christ's Return', pp.179-231.
2. Tuveson, Redeemer Nation, chapter 4; see Arthur Whitefield Spalding, Origin and History of Seventh-day Adventists, 4 vols (Washington, DC, 1961), I, 21; compare Jonathan Butler, 'The World of Ellen G. White and the end of the world', Spectrum, 10, no.2 (1979), 2-13 (pp.3-7).
3. Winthrop H. Hudson, in Gaustad, pp.2-3.

was on 'means' and 'human exertions'.⁴

Tensions developed in American society. There was anxiety over assimilating the growing numbers of Roman Catholics. States' rights and slavery might become disruptive issues. The frontier, limitless but lawless, was both opportunity and threat.⁵ The slump of 1837 slowed the onward progress of philanthropic and missionary endeavour, those engines of a temporal millennium. Ludlum regards Miller's apocalypticism as a first reaction to the economic crisis, and James Webb classes Miller with Jehovah Witnesses, Mormons, Christian Scientists, Spiritualists, and other movements as a response to the crisis of the nineteenth century.⁶ Comparing trade cycles with church membership statistics Cross argues that while it is simplistic to explain all movements of ideas in economic terms, there was a definite link between revival and the state of trade. Moderate recession favoured a shift to otherworldliness, and even a 'bout of prosperity to follow, while it might distract some, would reinforce others in their beliefs and provide more funds for the propagation of ideas'. The slump of 1837 was more than a mild recession, and forced many to consider the problem of survival.⁷ David L. Rowe argues against a purely economic explanation.

William Miller (1782-1849), the eldest of sixteen children, was born and grew up in north eastern New York State, near the 'burned-over district'. Service in the war of 1812 disillusioned him of deism, and he began to search for a faith. After his conversion, his deist friends

4. William S. McLoughlin in Gaustad, pp.131, 142-43, 145; Finney was not the first to speak of or use 'means', but he developed the techniques, Cross, pp.172-84.
5. McLoughlin in Gaustad, p.139.
6. Quoted in Lindén, Trump, p.31; Webb, The Flight from Reason (1971), pp.68-69.
7. Cross, p.269; Lindén, Trump, p.36.

ridiculed his acceptance of a book supposedly so full of error.⁸

Miller began a search of the Bible, beginning with Genesis 1.1. He determined to proceed no faster than he could solve every difficulty,⁹ using only the Bible and Cruden's Concordance. After two years, he concluded that Christ would come about 1843. From 1818 to 1831 he mentioned his discovery only to friends. He first preached on the subject in 1831 and his views were printed in 1832. Although he gradually attained adherents, it was not until 1839, when Joshua V. Himes threw in his organizational and publishing talents, that Miller became the figurehead of a mass movement. Himes was a minister of the Christian Church, an anti-slavery campaigner and promoter of educational reform.¹⁰ The Signs of the Times (Boston) and the Midnight Cry (New York)¹¹ were the chief of almost innumerable Millerite papers.

Sandeen believes that Adventist historians have seemed determined to champion Miller as an independent thinker. On the other hand, Adventists have done a considerable amount of research to prove that Miller's teaching had a great deal in common with that of earlier and contemporary 'students of prophecy'. He had been fond of history, and without some data from secular history Miller could not have constructed his

8. Biographies of Miller include Bliss, Memoirs. Nichol, p.550, considered this 'the only real biography of Miller that has ever been written, all subsequent works being largely condensations or adaptations'. This statement of 1944 is still true today, though understanding of Miller's milieu has grown; Robert L. Gale, The Urgent Voice (Washington, DC, 1975) is the most recent biography, but is based mainly on secondary sources.
9. Apology and Defence (Boston, 1845), p.6; Hale, SAM, p.66.
10. David T. Arthur, 'Joshua V. Himes and the cause of Adventism, 1839-1845' (unpublished MA dissertation, University of Chicago, 1961); Nichol, pp.75-77. Himes, aged 35 in 1839, was pastor of the Chardon Street Chapel, Boston; Everett N. Dick, 'The Adventist Crisis of 1843-44' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1930), p.226.
11. Nichol, p.80.

12
teaching.

Miller's personal creed was never completed or published in his lifetime. His thirteen rules for interpreting the Bible were printed in the Signs. Lindén emphasizes that the fixing of a time for the parousia¹³ was the only unorthodox point in his system.

2. The First Conference

The First General Conference of Christians expecting the Advent was held in Boston, October 1840. The report that was issued made it clear that there was no intention of starting a new sect. It was agreed that the second coming was near and premillennial. The final punishment of the wicked would take place at the end of the millennium. Postmillennialism was explicitly declared false. The very act of stating what they believed thus involved stating what they did not believe and was a¹⁴ first step, unconsciously taken, to the formation of a separate body.

The second session of the General Conference, in Lowell, Massachusetts, 15-17 June 1841, adopted a nine-point strategy for the work. Briefly summarized these were: 1. personal consecration; 2. personal conversation with others on religion, and especially on the second

12. Sandeen in Gaustad, p.110; David T. Arthur, 'Come out of Babylon, A Study of Millerite Separation and Denominationalism, 1840-1865' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Rochester, NY, 1970), p.2; Miller had read Newton and Faber before his period of intensive Bible study, MC, 26 Oct. 1843, p.38, quoted in Nichol, pp.161, 458; Spalding, Origin, I, 20; Lindén, Biblicism, p.36; Damsteegt, p.18, n.84; an editorial specifically denied originality to Miller, AH, 13 Sept. 1851, p.244.
13. Miller's rules of interpretation of Scripture are mentioned in Ch.VIII of this work. They are printed in MC, 17 Nov. 1842, p.4; Hale, SAM, pp.103-05; the twenty-article unfinished creed is printed in Bliss, Memoirs, pp.77-80; Lindén suggests that an analysis of the articles of faith shows that Miller was considerably influenced by Calvinistic Baptist views, Trump, pp.38,39.
14. Report of the General Conference, 1840, p.21; ST, 15 Nov. 1840, p.126.

coming of Christ; 3. Bible classes for mutual study of the advent; 4. social meetings for prayer and exhortation; 5. the questioning of ministers on the second advent, asking them to explain related Scriptures; 6. the circulation of books; 7. remaining within and working within existing churches to bring them to a better mind, rather than withdrawing; 8. working in the correct spirit; 9. the establishment of Second Advent libraries in every town.¹⁵

Miller wrote to the third session, held in October 1841, urging that 'a committee be appointed for the express purpose of examining, advising and recommending...lecturers...'.¹⁶ This was not done, but in November 1841, a resolution was passed which recommended five men - Miller, Himes, Litch, Jones, and Ward - as 'entitled to the confidence, prayers and co-operation of all those who love the glorious appearing of...our Saviour Jesus Christ'.¹⁷

In 1842 the first of the Second Advent Associations was founded in New York. Although the meetings were timed to avoid a clash with church services, the end result was likely to be divisive.¹⁸ Whereas the General Conference of December 1841 required only a belief in the near advent, in May 1842 the Committee on Finance recommended more stringent criteria for conference membership. These were rejection of the doctrines of a temporal millennium and the restoration of the Jews, and belief in the second advent as the next great event in history. The conference emphasized the date 1843. Henry Dana Ward, Episcopalian, and Henry Jones, Congregationalist, who were opposed to time setting, while

15. ST, 2 Aug. 1841, p.70.

16. ST, 1 Nov. 1841, p.117.

17. ST, 1 Dec. 1841, p.131.

18. 'The name "Adventists" marks the real growth of difference between us and our opponents', AH, 20 March 1844, p.53.

not formally resigning from the movement, ceased to be prominent.

3. Come out of Babylon

As Millerism became more formidable, more monolithic in its beliefs, so opposition grew. Intemperate language was used on both sides. The lack of response on the part of clergy to Millerite appeals, and the pressure to exclude Millerites from the churches, led to the question of
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separation.

The moderates, including Miller, opposed separation. Others argued that many of the Millerite believers had previously been unchurched. When they joined any of the sects they began to die in religion and give
21
up the second advent teaching. In July 1843, Charles Fitch, a Congregationalist minister, preached on Revelation 18, urging the be-
22
lievers in the advent to come out of Babylon. George Storrs, who was first a Congregationalist, then a Methodist, went further and warned the Adventists that any organization they might set up would automatically become Babylon. He was joined in this by Joseph Marsh, editor at that time of The Voice of Truth, whose life subsequently was to be spent in
23
polemics against organization. Millerite 'come-outerism' intensified the pressure to expel the Adventists and so forced the setting up of some sort of organization, 'so that those who cannot abide in the churches without suppressing their faith, may have a place to flee

19. ST, 1 June 1842, p.69, 3 Aug. 1842, p.140.

20. Nichol, pp.123-25; ST, 20 July 1842, p.126.

21. MC, 24 Aug. 1843, p.7; David L. Rowe, 'A New Perspective on the Burned-Over District: The Millerites in Upstate New York', Church History, 47 (1978), 408-20 (pp.416-20).

22. MC, 21 Sept. 1843, pp.33-36; Freeman G. Brown, a Baptist, listed fourteen reasons for withdrawing from the churches, MC, 4 April 1844, p.301.

23. Seventh-day Adventist Encyclopedia, edited by Don F. Neufeld (Washington, DC, 1976), p.1428; MC, 15 Feb. 1844, p.237; VTGT, 11 Sept. 1844, p.127.

24
to'.

4. The Midnight Cry

Miller's original date for the advent was 'about 1843'. Some believers expected the event in October 1843, but this was a minority. March 1844 was the first important disappointment. Although the major Millerite periodicals favoured 17 April, the majority of believers pinned their hopes on 21 March. When nothing happened, there was still the consolation, 'though the vision tarry, wait for it' (Habakkuk 2.3), which had been applied after October 1843. The stouthearted pointed to the tarrying time in the parable of the ten virgins (Matthew 25.5).²⁵

At the Exeter, New Hampshire, camp meeting, 12-17 August 1844, Samuel S. Snow, a converted infidel, put forward ideas he had been publishing since February, that Christ would come on 22 October of that year. From August to 22 October 1844 there was unprecedented activity, interpreted as the midnight cry of Matthew 25.

Miller, Himes and other leading Millerites were slow to accept Snow's date as final, but by October most were in full agreement.²⁶

5. After the Disappointment

22 October 1844 passed, and although the Signs recommenced 30 October and the Midnight Cry a day later, the movement was shattered, despite the outward calm of the periodicals. Himes confessed the error, but without regret. It had been a soul-purifying experience. Storrs regretted his enthusiasm. Two weeks later F.G. Brown found that many

24. Damsteegt, pp.79-84; Arthur, 'Come Out', pp.42-83.

25. Nichol, pp.170, 175; Bliss, Memoirs, pp.254-56; Advent Message to the Daughters of Zion (Boston), May 1844, p.20.

26. Millerite time setting is discussed in Ch. VIII below; MC, 19 Sept. 1844, p.85, 3 Oct., p.97, 12 Oct., p.121, 19 Oct., p.131.

among 'the little disconsolate flock...abide as firm as ever in the
 faith - the doctrine is indestructible'.²⁷

There were four possible reactions of believers to the disconfirmation. Some, probably the majority of the fifty to one hundred thousand followers, renounced the Advent faith entirely, and many of these mocked
 at Millerism to cover their own embarrassment.²⁸ Some of the clergy from the churches Millerites had left were very industrious in endeavouring to persuade Advent believers to return. Such a return was not easy, for ex-Millerites faced both the humiliation of being in error, and the insistence of the churches on the world's conversion, the return of the Jews, and kindred doctrines. The disappointment broke the band that had held the Millerite movement comparatively free from fanaticism, granted the premise that the whole movement was not in itself fanatical. S.S.Snow, proponent of the seventh month movement, saw events leading to October as a fulfilment of Zechariah 9 and 10, with a thinly disguised
 Himes as the idol shepherd. Snow himself was discovered to be Elijah.²⁹ Considerable numbers, including Enoch Jacobs, editor of the Day Star, joined the Shakers, though apparently not immediately after the disappointment. 'Comparable principles made the transfer a natural one,
 many preferring "knowledge and sight" to "faith and hope".'³⁰

A second group, Miller and Himes among them, believed that the

27. MC, 21 Nov. 1844, p.166; AH, 13 Nov. 1844, p.108-12; PFF, IV, 855-62.

28. Richard Hutchinson, A Brief Statement of the Facts (Montreal, 1850), p.19. The classifications of both the reactions to the disappointment and the emergence of different groups after 1844 are simplifications which cannot do justice to the complexity of the issue.

29. SDA Encyclopaedia, p.1202.

30. Edward D. Andrews, The People called Shakers, A Search for the Perfect Society (New York, 1953), pp.221, 223; Arnold V. Wallenkampf and W. Richard Leshner, editors, The Sanctuary and the Atonement (Washington, DC, 1981), p.518.

emphasis on precise dates was mistaken. Chronology was liable to human error, though Miller wrote later, 'I cannot see where we were wrong in the chronology'. Most of the group agreed with Miller that there were no prophetic periods extending beyond 1844. Miller saw 'The causes which required God's chastening hand upon us [as]...PRIDE, FANATICISM and SECTARIANISM'. This group, which we may call the Advent Herald party, with all its shades of beliefs, including some time-setting, was³¹ the party that would support the English mission.

A third group contended that the time calculations leading to 22 October 1844, were correct. What had happened on that day was a spiritual, not an earthly event. Interpretations varied from the sanctification of believers on that date to the entry of Christ as the High Priest into the second apartment of the heavenly sanctuary in³² fulfilment of the antitype of Yom Kippur. The idea of the sanctification of believers from October led to antinomian fanaticisms, includ-³³ ing spiritual wifery and a doctrine of doing no secular work.

The fourth possibility was that the calculations should be³⁴ reworked.

6. The Albany Conference and Beyond

After October, 1844, there were various small conferences, but the largest was that in Albany, New York, on 29 April 1845, of what Cross

31. Jubilee Standard, 17 April 1845, p.41; MW, 13 Feb. 1845, p.56; Bliss, Memoirs, pp.282-83.

32. Jubilee Standard, 17 April 1845, p.47; VTGT, 6 May 1846, pp.42-44; AH, 10 Feb. 1847, p.13; Damsteegt, pp.115-34; Wallenkampf, Sanctuary, pp.516-19, 549-54.

33. For first-hand accounts of encountering various fanaticisms after 1844, Ellen G. White, Life Sketches of Ellen G. White (Mountain View, CA, 1915), pp.79-87).

34. MW, 24 April 1845, p.134.

calls the 'saner, more conservative crowd'.

The conference met under the shadow of fragmentation and discouragement. Its 'Address to the Brethren Scattered Abroad' stressed the need for charity among believers. The cause called upon all to read and decide upon the Word of God for themselves. 'Yet this very liberty may become a stumbling block to many, and without charity, be the means of scattering, dividing and causing contention among brethren.' The disappointment as to the time should have no effect upon their hope,³⁶ which still lay in the future.

The new circumstances called for a new plan of operations. The camp meetings had awakened much general interest, but, 'What we now do must be done more by dint of persevering and determined effort, than by moving masses of community'. Book and periodical circulation should be increased to reach those not accessible by public lectures.³⁷

The doctrinal positions of Albany, time of the advent excepted, were no different from pre-disappointment Millerism, but some of the things condemned show the divergent views that had sprung up. The conference specifically condemned will-worship and neglect of the body, new tests as conditions of salvation in addition to repentance and faith and a looking for and loving Christ's appearing. Jewish fables and the distinctive characteristics of modern Judaism were rejected. This was a thrust against the Sabbatarian Adventists. Promiscuous feet washing and the holy kiss were unacceptable as well as the even more bizarre acts of voluntary humility. Since mendicants claiming superior holiness were sponging it was necessary to set up a form of organization so that³⁸ ministers could be credentialled.

35. Cross, p.311.

36. MW, 8 May 1845, p.151.

37. ibid.

38. MW, 8 May 1845, p.151; AH, 22 Jan. 1845, p.189; Wellcome, p.414.

The Millerites were a little uneasy about a separate organization. The need both for and of ministers should be considered. 'Our congregations have nothing to hope from those who seek their conversion merely to new notions, and opinions of men. They will be obliged to secure for themselves faithful ministers, who care for the flock...Without this means of grace it will be hard for the Advent congregations to sustain themselves in large cities and towns.' Villages should be cared for by circuits. This would also provide employment for ministers.

The attempt at organization was attacked by many as creating a new daughter of Babylon. Even the name Adventist, which had been in use for three years, was disliked by some. Joseph Marsh was the most vocal of the anti-organizers.

The importance of Albany may be seen in four aspects: 1. It strengthened the moderate element in Adventism. 2. Some of the leaders who had been sympathetic towards new ideas returned to the original advent faith. 3. Albany gave the lead to the scholars and trained preachers among the Millerites. 4. It sharpened divisions among the Adventists and made them permanent. This sharpening of divisions was partly caused by the condemnation of new tests, rejection of Sabbatarianism and a warning against visions and dreams. The dislike of extra-Biblical revelation was not new to Albany, but found additional point with the first visions of Ellen G. Harmon in December, 1844.

Four divisive questions surfaced before and after Albany: 1. The prophecies relating to the Jews, believed by the Millerites to find a

39. MW, 27 Feb. 1845, p.70; 1 May, p.144; EAH, 1 July 1846, p.6.

40. Arthur, 'Come Out', pp.154, 166-67; Nichol, pp.297-98; VTGT, 7 May 1845, p.45; AH, 1 April 1848, p.69, 8 April, p.77, 15 April, p.84, 22 April, p.93.

41. Arthur, 'Come Out', pp.137-39; Lindén, Trump, p.82; Bliss, Memoirs, pp.235-38; Damsteegt, p.121; Nichol, pp.342-43, 505-08; MC, 7 Nov. 1844, p.147.

spiritual fulfilment only, were applied by the Age to Come Adventists to a return of the Jews to Palestine before the Advent. 2. The issue of conditional immortality, introduced to Adventists by George Storrs, was not faced at Albany, but was destined to cause a major rupture later. The Advent Herald held to natural immortality. 3. The seventh-day Sabbath, which was embraced by some small Adventist groups, was rejected by the Albany statement. The Advent Herald and Midnight Cry, prior to 1844, had refused to get involved with the Seventh-day Baptist advocacy of Sabbath.⁴² 4. There was considerable agitation after 22 October on the possibility of the conversion of sinners. Even Miller for a short time believed that his work for sinners was over, though he later repudiated the 'shut door'. The Jubilee Standard, a post-disappointment journal, edited by Snow and Barnet Matthias, stated 'A wicked world, and a corrupt, apostate, world-loving church, no longer share our sympathies, our labour, or our prayers. Their doom is sealed, and it is just'.⁴³ The 'shut door' view at first characterized the Sabbatarian Adventists, so that Joseph Bates, himself one of their number, described present truth as 'Sabbath and shut door'.⁴⁴

By 1852 there were four main groups, though few of them were homogeneous. The first comprised the believers centred on Boston and to a lesser extent New York, with Himes, Hale and Galusha as leaders, speaking through the Advent Herald. This group believed in church discipline and organization, the open door for sinners, the natural immortality of man, with the consciousness of the dead and the eternal punishment of

42. AH, 13 Nov. 1847, p.119, 27 Nov., p.133; Damsteegt, pp.136-37.

43. Quoted in MW, 20 March 1845, p.94.

44. Schwarz, Lightbearers, pp.55, 58, 59, 69-70; Ch. VIII, Section 8; Adventists appeared to be as bitter in their internal dissensions as Methodists earlier had been to them. The discord and dissensions compared unfavourably with the Mormons, AH, 24 April 1847, p.96.

the wicked. No date should be set for the advent. . The second group, based at Hartford, Connecticut and New York City, believed the millennium to be in the past, and man to be unconscious in death. Joseph Turner's Second Advent Watchman was the main organ. They were not united on ideas of organization. A third group centred around Rochester, New York and Joseph Marsh's Advent Harbinger and Bible Advocate. They saw the millennium as future, with a second period of probation, during which the Jews would return to Palestine. Violently opposed to organization, the Age to Come party remained fragmented and gradually disappeared. The fourth group was the tiny splinter of Sabbatarian Adventists, who had achieved a measure of cohesion after the Sabbath⁴⁵ conferences of 1848.

To the observer without the prophetic gift, the Advent Herald party would have seemed to be the surviving section of Millerism most likely to continue. However, without the two-edged weapon of time-setting, and with little more than the non-return of the Jews as a special teaching, the party lacked distinguishing doctrines. The irenical approach of the Herald, the apologetic attitude towards a separate organization, and the development of ties with the major denominations, gradually eroded the purpose of the separate existence. After 1849 the Herald relied in-

45. Arthur, 'Come Out', pp.277-78, 297-306, 319, 352-71. By 1855 there were at least twenty-five groups. Compare AH, 27 Nov. 1847, p.133, cited Damsteegt, p.114, n.78; Herald of the Kingdom, 10 (1860), 224; W. S. Hudson is quite incorrect when he writes, 'Others were persuaded by Ellen Gould White that Christ's failure to appear was due to a neglect of proper Sabbath observance ...', Religion in America, second edition (New York, 1973), p.196. The Sabbath was understood by the early Sabbatarian Adventists to have become a test only after 1844. No blame was attached to those who ignored the Sabbath before the disappointment, as it was not then 'present truth'. Ellen G. White did not accept the Sabbath until late 1846, Schwarz, Lightbearers, pp.59, 67. The Sabbatarian Adventists believed they had to give the 'third angel's message' of Revelation 14. For the Albany Adventists' historicization of Revelation 14.6-7, see AH, 15 March 1851, p.37.

creasingly on reprints of non-Millerite material, and displayed little original thought. Apathy, or sheer lack of numbers, was seen in the falling subscription list. The group with the most distinctive teachings - the Sabbath, sanctuary, and prophetic gift - was destined to become the largest of the heirs of Miller.⁴⁶

The groups that adopted conditional immortality had a distinctive teaching. The Sabbatarian Adventists might feel that they had a double cross of unpopularity, preaching both the seventh day and the premillennial advent, but their system of belief made them a separate body. Their understanding of Revelation 14.6-12 gave them a sense of identity in the eschatological plan and purpose.

Religious revivals are characteristically followed by periods of deadness. Some Adventists saw the rejection of the midnight cry by the 'nominal churches' as the fall mentioned in Revelation 14.8, the second of the three angels messages. Some commentators on the religious scene in 1844 noted 'a general declension of religion' in the USA. Orr thinks, citing Frank G. Beardsley, that Millerism is partly to blame for the religious declension between 1844 and 1855.⁴⁷ However, Beardsley also believed that, 'Boom times corrupt the public fancy and turn men's hearts from God'.⁴⁸ Against the optimism of the earlier Finney, even as late as 1843, may be set his gloom of February 1844, before the Millerite disappointment: 'The spiritual apathy is almost all pervading and is fearfully deep...the churches generally are becoming sadly degenerate...and the Lord...has withdrawn himself from them.' In earlier

46. Schwarz, Lightbearers, pp.56-58.

47. Orr, Second Evangelical Awakening, p.1; Beardsley, A History of American Revivals (New York, 1912).

48. Orr, loc. cit.

years Millerism had been seen as a way to filling the churches.

Millerism was an American phenomenon and in no other country could it have drawn upon the same enthusiasms and followed a similar course. It remained within the wide spectrum of beliefs usually considered theologically respectable among the American churches of the mid-nineteenth century. It was perhaps the most Bible-based of all the movements of the period, but took its premillennialism too seriously to be generally acceptable.⁵⁰

Lindén lists five factors in the success of the movement: 1. The general and extraordinary interest in America for apocalyptic speculation. 2. The combination between the Apocalypse and conventional revivalism. 3. The pietistic and perfectionist factors which appealed to many Christians. 4. The Bible based creed which offered an alternative to neologism, deism and universalism. 5. For many Americans, the movement expressed their protest against social evil in a twofold way, partly by supporting radical reform ideas, partly by referring to the parousia as the final and lasting solution to all evil.⁵¹

How far these factors applied to Britain would be one factor in determining the success of the Millerite mission there.

By 1860 the main descendant bodies of Millerism had stabilized enough for D.T.Taylor to draw up a statistical report of ministers, membership, and circulation of periodicals.⁵²

49. McLoughlin in Gaustad, p.147; White, The Great Controversy, p.377, where two other gloomy statements from other writers were mentioned. The success of the Catholic Apostolic Church in America may have been limited by 'the adverse reaction to adventism' engendered by 'Millerism', Lively, p.114.

50. Cross, p.297.

51. Lindén, Trump, p.64; Damsteegt, p.53.

52. Arthur, 'Come Out', pp.386-89.

CHAPTER IV

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE MILLERITE MISSION TO GREAT BRITAIN

1. Motivation

The little apocalypses of the gospels (Matthew 24, Mark 13, Luke 21) were clearly key chapters for those who looked for the second advent. War, famines and pestilences had been going on as long as recorded history, but the 'sign' of Matthew 24.14 seemed to have a particular application to the early nineteenth century. The unprecedented outreach of Protestant missions appeared to be a fulfilment of our Lord's predictions and itself a sign of the end. In fact, belief in the imminence of the second advent proved a powerful spur to missionary endeavour as De Jong and Van den Berg have pointed out.¹ The expectation enhances evangelistic zeal. W. M. Lowrie, an American Presbyterian, believed that his newly found millenarian views seemed 'to make many things in the history of missions that were dark before much more plain and encouraging'.²

Some postmillennialists argued that belief in Christ's coming discouraged missionary activity. Irving's misplaced attack on missionary societies may have contributed to this, though indirectly.³ On the other side, a writer in the Signs believed that the Millerites

1. De Jong, As the Waters Cover the Sea; J. Van den Berg, Constrained by Jesus' Love. An Enquiry into the Motives of the Missionary Awakening in Great Britain in the Period between 1698 and 1815 (Kampen, 1956); Orchard, 'Evangelical Eschatology', pp.32,39-42; R. Pierce Beaver, 'Missionary Motivation in Three Centuries', in Jerald C. Brauer, Reinterpretation in American History (Chicago, IL, 1968), pp.131-51; millenarianism 'gives us a view of the world, as a wrecked vessel, and stimulates us to work with all our might that we may save some', W.E. Blackstone, quoted in Sandeen, p.162.
2. Theol. & Lit. Jnl., 2(1849), 287; QJP, 6(1845), 407; W. Tilson Marsh, in Israel Restored, p.495.
3. Andrew L. Drummond, Edward Irving and his Circle (1937), p.129.

had done more to advance missionary operations this last year in proportion to means than all other Christians in the country and probably been instrumental in converting more souls.⁴ 'As preoccupation with the date of the millennium ceased, the urgency to "pluck brands from the burning" lessened' among Protestants generally.⁵ To the Millerites, it appeared that by 1840 the gospel had been preached in most of the world, 'and now America, the last quarter of the globe, is reaping a harvest of souls for the last day'.⁶ The time-limitation placed on activity by the 1843 date made it necessary for the Millerites to define in what sense Matthew 24.14 would be fulfilled. The gospel was to go as a witness to all nations, not necessarily at one time, nor demanding general acceptance.⁷ Did Miller's 1843 date allow sufficient time for fulfilment of the work?⁸

Then came the question of defining what is meant by the gospel. Litch discussed the difference between the gospel proclamation of Luke 2.11 and the judgment hour message of Revelation 14.7. According to Litch, what was necessary for the fulfilment of Matthew 24.14 was that the news of the second advent should be given throughout the world. It was not necessary for it to be preached to everyone. The British Millerite paper Advent Harbinger was sure 'This no one acquainted with the history of missions will deny is fulfilled'.⁹ There was a further

4. ST, 13 July 1843, p.156; Theol. & Lit. Jnl, 4(1851),279. The article was designed to counter an article on 'Foreign Missions and the Millennium' in the Princeton Review; John Cox, A Millenarian's Answer of the Hope that is in Him, third edition (1832), p.24.
5. Beaver, in Brauer, Reinterpretation, p.129.
6. Miller, 'A Lecture on the Signs of the Present Times', ST, 20 Mar.1840, p.4.
7. See Damsteegt, pp.50-53, for a summary of Millerite arguments on missiology, and the interpretation of Matthew 24.14.
8. ST, 16 Dec.1841,p.141.
9. Litch, 'This Gospel of the Kingdom', ST, 15 Nov.1843, p.109; AHMA, 18 Sept.1844, p.30.

difficulty in that the second advent message was promulgated mainly in North America. The reason for this was that just as Christ and the first advent had come to the place where believers in Christ were concentrated, so the second advent message would be given most strongly where the majority of true Christians were to be found. William Miller stated, 'The gospel, like the sun, arose in the east and will set in the west'. 'New England, being the most pious portion of the earth, would naturally be the theatre of the darkening of the sun and moon and the falling of the stars...'. However 'the world has had the Midnight Cry...in proportion to the prevalence of true Christianity in the various parts of the earth'. As long as Christ did not come, the advent must still be proclaimed.¹⁰

It was natural that the Millerites should feel a particular closeness to England. Thistlethwaite has stressed the importance of the trans-Atlantic community, a social, economic, and cultural bond. There was much cross-fertilization of religious ideas. The Millerites included many British titles in the Second Advent Library. The British were becoming accustomed to the work of American revivalists. Lively believes that Anglo-Saxon ties may have made Britain the mission field for the Mormons.¹¹ Language was an obvious affinity, especially for a group lacking translation skills. There was a sense of the special providential destiny of Britain and America, even for the world's salvation.¹²

J. Wolstenholme of Providence wrote requesting that two copies of the Signs be sent by each Cunard mail, addressed 'England' and charged

10. ST. 20 Mar.1840, p.4; Editorial, 'The World Has Had the Midnight Cry', ST. 20 Sept.1843, p.36; AHMA, 14 Aug.1844, p.7.

11. America and the Atlantic Community, pp.76-102; Lively, 'Catholic Apostolic Church and Latter Day Saints', p.297.

12. Tuveson, Redeemer Nation. pp.128,138,151-52,154,157.

to his account, for 'across the Atlantic ocean are some...who are groping their way as I once did'. Many Americans were themselves immigrants from Britain and had relations in England with whom they wished to share the good news.¹³ Accordingly, 'in 1840, an attempt was made to open an interchange between Literalists of England and the (Millerite) Adventists in the United States. But it was soon discovered that they had 'as little fellowship for our Anti-Judaizing notions as we had for their Judaism and so the interchange was broken off'.¹⁴ Unfortunately, the correspondence of this interchange has not been preserved, but the reasons for the failure to reach an accord are clear enough.¹⁵

The British Millerites never possessed such an organization as the American Millerites. Litch later referred to 'the English Adventists' who, entirely independent of the Millerites, had for years been preaching the second coming. However, no formal links were established,¹⁶ and the difference was not resolved.

2. Good News in Print

The committee of publications established in October 1840 was the first of the separate Adventist institutions.¹⁷ The Millerite understanding of mission impelled them to circulate their publications

13. ST, 1 Oct.1841, p.101; 16 Dec., p.141. This is brought out in the discussion of both Adventist and Mormon missionaries below.
14. Litch, 'Rise and Progress of Adventism', Advent Shield and Review, May 1844, p.92; ST, 1 Nov.1841, pp.114-15, printed in Wellcome, p.535 and PFF, IV, 714.
15. In 1840 positions had not hardened on either side concerning dis-fellowshipping or leaving Babylon. The breakdown indicates the centrality of the Jewish question in premillennialist thinking.
16. ST, 15 Nov.1843, p.109.
17. Arthur, 'Millerism', in Gaustad, pp.156-57, citing First Report of the General Conference 1840, pp.20-22; There was a move to set up Second Advent libraries in the towns, ST, 2 Aug.1841, p.70.

as widely as possible. In October 1840 it was agreed to send a printed report of the first Second Advent Conference to theological seminaries, ministers of the gospel, to the world as far as means would allow and to 'our friends in Great Britain, whom we shall get to assist us in this good work', and to missionaries in all the world.¹⁸ In 1842 Litch wrote that Second Advent publications had been 'sent to nearly all English and American mission stations on the earth'.¹⁹

The Voice of Elijah was started in Montreal by Richard Hutchinson as the American Signs did not seem to be getting through by post to Canada. By September 1843, 12,000 copies had been scattered in Canada and in England, Scotland, and Ireland. There was also an agent in Paris organizing free distribution. Letters were received from England on the progress of the work there. As an Englishman, Hutchinson had a particular interest in sending his paper to Britain and ultimately over the Empire. William Priest of Birmingham read an article on the second coming copied from an American journal. He then received some copies of the Midnight Cry from a traveller returned from New York. Next year Priest was sending the Voice of Elijah to preachers and others in the West Midlands.²⁰ Joseph Curry of Liverpool believed he was the first to receive a copy of Miller's Lectures, when he met Captain Blanchard of the Calypso in 1840. Curry had sent copies of the Lectures to various

18. Damsteegt, pp.53-54.

19. Litch, Prophetic Expositions; or, a Connected view of the Testimony of the Prophets Concerning the Kingdom of God and the Time of its Establishment, 2 vols (Boston, 1842), I, 166-67; Damsteegt, p.54.

20. MC, 25 Jan.1844, p.209; Advent Shield and Review, May 1844, p.92; AH, 14 Feb.1844, p.11; 28 July 1863, p.217; Mar.1844 issue contained letters from England, MC, 4 April 1844, p.297; Winter noted that Hutchinson was sending papers to Yorkshire. This was probably to family members as well as friends, AH, 14 June 1844, p.192; 24 April, p.95; Priest wanted more of the Midnight Cry and Trumpet of Alarm, MC, 14 Dec.1843, p.152; 29 Feb.1844, p.251; MC, 11 July 1844, p.415.

parts of England. However, Himes knew of the Lectures being read in England in 1836. The Tanner family were first contacted by a zealous sailor.²¹

There is no firm evidence on the extent of Millerite literature distribution prior to the arrival of missionaries. In 1843 there were many who had received letters and Second Advent books from their friends in America. Two large charts had also been sent. Bickersteth thought the teachings were widely diffused in Great Britain, but he was writing in 1845 when the British mission had been at work about three years. In August 1843 a correspondent to the Nottingham Review mentioned returned emigrants from America who had brought back a quantity of Second Advent publications, including Josiah Litch's Prophetic Expositions.²²

3. The Mission to England, 1842-44

It may be questioned whether there is justification for using the word 'Millerite' to describe the group discussed in this chapter. Damsteegt speaks of 'British Adventists, who seem to have been influenced by the Millerites', and 'English "Millerites"'.²³ Louis Billington has used 'Millerite' in his seminal article, and Millerite papers in America reported on 'the cause in England'. It is true that before 1846 none of the Millerite workers in Britain were sent by the American organization, but to quibble over that is to miss the genius of

21. AH, 29 July 1846, p.196; 10 Feb.1847, p.5.

22. Edward Bickersteth, Signs of the Times in the East, p.66, quoted in EAH. 13 Aug.1846, p.15; there may have been other charts. Winter discovered two in his travels, MC, 2 Nov.1843, p.93; Nottingham Review, 4 Aug 1843, cited in MC, 14 Dec.1843, p.142.

23. Damsteegt, pp.55,81,92,96.

Millerism, and the very word 'organization' in the context is questionable.²⁴ When Edmund Micklewood's book was approvingly reviewed, probably by Hutchinson, there was no suggestion that he was a Millerite, even though he quoted from a Millerite book. However, the argument from²⁵ silence is not at all conclusive.

The Adventists of America, though sending literature to Britain, did not send any personnel until 1846. Prior to that year, all the Millerite missionaries were volunteers, most of whom were returning English emigrants converted to Millerism in America. Some of these returned emigrants are known only from passing references. Jonathan Shaw, a Waterloo veteran and Primitive Methodist preacher, returned from Philadelphia to Leeds after hearing of Millerism in 1843 to 'seek the²⁶ salvation...of his own family and nation'.

There was a precedent for evangelistic campaigns from America.²⁷ Apart from the professional revivalists, the first Mormon missionaries had left New York for Liverpool in 1837. These were unpaid, usually working class, and frequently emigrants returning home. They held outdoor meetings, and in many ways their activities were similar to what²⁸ is known of Millerite work in Britain.

Robert Winter (1816-1908), a Norfolk man, emigrated from England, and, although a Primitive Methodist, became pastor of a Baptist church in Vermont. In the spring of 1842 he was urged by some of his

24. Louis Billington's pioneering and penetrating study of 'The Millerite Adventists in Great Britain 1840-1850', Journal of American Studies, 1 (1967), 191-212, provided the quarry for Sandeen Fundamentalism and Harrison, Second Coming; PFF, IV, 714, which antedates Billington, mentions some Nottingham sources, and lists some Millerite titles published in Britain.

25. AH, 17 April 1844, p.86.

26. AH, 6 Jan.1847, p.173.

27. Himes's observation in AH, 30 Dec.1846, p.165; Hutchinson on Caughey in AH, 10 Feb.1847, p.5.

28. See Chapter IX.

congregation to attend the camp meeting, was converted to Miller's views and the majority of his congregation followed him. Winter and his wife returned to England in the autumn, presumably at his own charge or the generosity of his American congregation. He is the first known Millerite missionary and the only one to have been noticed in popular accounts of the movement.²⁹ Albert C. Johnson, quoting an unnamed source, says he was 'an exceedingly able man, gifted with a fine voice and all the arts that make up a successful orator'. The stir he created was said, with some exaggeration, to have been comparable with that of Miller in America.³⁰

Winter's letter of 29 December 1842 is the first mention of 'the cause in England', as it was to be known. The papers he distributed produced a great effect among the people. He had lectured four times in London and some few, including a preacher and a class leader who had embraced the truth, were now preaching to others.³¹ Winter seems first to have gone to the house of his Wesleyan sister and brother-in-law, Elizabeth and George Lloyd. Here in Parker's Terrace, Bermondsey, a street of mariners, clerks, coopers, and straw-bonnet makers, the thirty-eight year old tailor and his wife, ten years his junior, were among Winter's earliest converts. Mrs Lloyd, who died in 1848, became a

29. Obituary in Advent Review, 12 Mar.1908,p.31: Seventh-day Adventist Encyclopedia, s.v.; there is a MS life sketch by Mrs J.H.Lambert of British Columbia, his step grand-daughter (1926). A story that cannot be pinned down to time and place, although in England, is that a gentleman and his wife listened to his street preaching, accepted, and afterwards asked him to be pastor of their church, 'composed of rich people...(who) gave his wife much fine rich clothing and other valuables', Lambert MS, p.2; PFF, IV, 714 probably draws on this MS; Bliss, Memoirs, pp.165-66; White, Great Controversy, p.362; Nichol, p.152; Wellcome, who may have provided the sources for White, mentions other names, and prints correspondence, Norfolk and Norwich Monitor, Jan.1844, p.6.

30. Advent Christian History (Boston, 1918), p.551;

31. ST, 1 Feb.1843, p.158.

frequent correspondent to the Signs and the Midnight Cry, and we are indebted to her letters for some of the vignettes of the work in Britain. The occupation and the locality suggest relative poverty, and Mrs Lloyd mentioned their lack of means to do what they would wish to help the cause.

Winter found a great call for Millerite papers. The people 'almost devour them'. He was republishing some small works, and hoped to print some of the larger books when funds became available. He mentioned what would become a recurrent theme among Millerites in Britain, the need of missionaries. The believers would prefer Miller or Himes. 'I tell them what good meetings we had in America.' This harking back to America is a slight indication of the fact that Millerism would always be a rather exotic plant on British soil, looking to America for leaders, inspiration and funds.

It is difficult to gauge success from a letter, but Winter felt that the message was being well received. He found himself busy with house visitations and used a chart in public meetings. He stated that he had a press in London (presumably he was contracting with a commercial press, as there is no record of any Millerite-owned press) and had already reprinted four American works in runs of 2,000 to 3,000. It was impossible to keep up with letters requesting lecturers and books. Thousands of believers had been 'gladdened by the cheering prospect of the Saviour's near return'. Elizabeth Lloyd wrote that

32. ST, 16 Aug.1843, p.189; MC, 25 Jan.1844, p.211; on the Lloyds, see Census Return PRO. HO. 107/1048 kindly supplied by the Librarian, Metropolitan Borough of Southwark.

33. ST, 1 Feb.1843, p.158; Routon believed England needed 'Brother Storrs...so mighty a preacher', ST, 18 Oct.1843, p.67; Dealty urged on Himes the need of lecturers, AH, 4 Feb.1846, p.205; Winter gave up all hope of seeing visiting Americans, but was grateful for the books, AH, 24 April 1844, p.95; compare the Mormon call for overseas labourers, LDSMS, 1(1840). p.22.

34. MC, 18 May 1843, p.65; SAH, 9 April 1843, p.25.

since her brother's return from America she 'had delightfully contemplated the subject of the Second Advent in 1843'. She added that at the time of writing, unstated, though probably April 1843, the cause was not as promising as when Winter wrote.³⁵ Perhaps there is here the effect of the first disconfirmation of the advent, although the disappointment appears to have come from lack of funds and from opposition. Winter may have been preaching March or April 1843 as the date, in common with some in America.³⁶

It is likely that enthusiasm waxed and waned rather rapidly. By September things seemed brighter. George Lloyd had 'established a scripture meeting in a small chapel near the Abby [sic]; they come from various churches, and there seems to be a growing interest in the minds of the people'. Winter had also won over C. L. Brocklehurst and G. H. Kurr, who wrote to the Signs of his rejoicing 'that, not being accustomed to public speaking, I have done all I could privately and personally'. Several ministers had seen L. D. Fleming's Midnight Cry, and a minister in Bedfordshire had ordered copies for distribution among his parishioners.³⁷ Kurr ended his letter with a call for lecturers.

Despite mention of opposition and persecution, reports in 1843 from Winter and his associate, William C. Burgess, were generally optimistic. Winter wrote 'we are travelling together through town and country, sinners are converted, the Church made more alive to God, and ministers are writing and preaching this glorious subject, and thousands now read the Bible and pray, who entirely neglected' this before.³⁸

Burgess was a Norfolk man who went to America about 1839. A

35. ST, 16 Aug.1843, p.189

36. Compare Chapter VIII, Section 12, on time-setting.

37. ST, 25 Oct.1843, p.77.

38. ST, 15 Nov.1843, pp.109-10.

Methodist lay preacher, he was converted to Millerism through Winter, his brother-in-law, though perhaps predisposed to millenarianism from his meeting with T. R. Matthews about 1838. He gave up a salary of one hundred pounds per year, unable to rest until giving the midnight cry. He worked in the north of England in 1844 and in the west in 1845 to 1846 with Charles Dealtry. Micklewood possibly excepted, Burgess was³⁹ the most prolific writer among the British Millerites.

There were other lecturers at work. The writings of Miller and Litch had been scattered in every county. Winter himself had travelled in Surrey, London, Essex, Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridge, Lincolnshire and Hampshire. He wrote from King's Lynn, Norfolk, while his wife was in Boston, Lincolnshire, 'exhorting all to prepare to meet the Bridegroom'. He was still 'strong in the faith of 1843'. 'I am satisfied that a fire is now lit up in England, that the breath of mortals cannot put out; the whole community is now in agitation about what is coming upon the land. It may be said now, truly, "men's hearts are failing them for⁴⁰ fear...".'

Winter did not quantify the converts, but mentioned that hundreds, if not thousands, thanked God for sending him with the papers and message. Figures for baptisms are not available, and it is not clear if⁴¹ Winter was baptizing at this period.

In November Winter reported from East Dereham two main areas of activity. Apart from East Anglia, where nearly 1,000 had been gathered in,

39. MC, 3 Nov.1843, p.93; AH, 4 Feb.1846, pp.205-06; 12 Aug.,p.5; Norfolk and Norwich Monitor, Jan.1844, p.6; Burgess's writings are listed in the Bibliography; Wright, Life of T.R.Matthews, does not mention Burgess.

40. MC, 3 Nov.1843, p.93; ST, 15 Nov.1843,p.110.

41. See Chapter VIII, Section 5 on Baptism.

Our London mission is doing well - the Lord has raised up several good labourers and two or three are now lecturing on this subject in London in different chapels - and many of our friends are holding Bible meetings, and reading our Second Advent books to the people, and others are sending those books and papers about, and others are writing letters to their friends.⁴²

There seemed to be a great interest in the Advent doctrine. Thousands were looking for the coming of the Lord and believed it to be at the door, and preachers of all denominations were giving the midnight cry. In some parts the powerful effect of this had turned nearly whole
43
villages to the Lord.

During 1843 and 1844 the British Millerites developed such organization as they were to achieve. The problems caused by lack of co-ordination are illustrated by the adventures of Edward Routon, who left New York late May/early June 1843, and spent five weeks in Bristol before going to work in London. Arriving before there was any network of believers established, he wrote in September, 'You may easily imagine that it was with no little difficulty that I discovered the brethren in that city' of approximately two million inhabitants. Himes remarked
44
that ten of New York were needed to make one London. The first rudimentary organization mentioned was when some of the friends in Norwich formed themselves into a committee for the purpose of opening a spacious building for meetings, hoping to attract a capacity crowd of
45
several thousands.

In the absence of formal organization, the Lloyds' house in Bermondsey seems to have served as a base or 'conference centre'. A meeting was held there in 1843, which Routon attended before going on to
46
Leicestershire. On 31 December a group of six Millerite missionaries

42. Letter 6 Nov.1843, in MC, 4 Jan.1844, p.189.

43. ibid.

44. ST, 18 Oct.1843, pp.66-67; AH, 16 Sept.1846, p.44.

45. MC, 29 Feb.1844, p.251.

46. Letter, E.Lloyd, AH, 25 Oct.1843, p.77.

met in a small chapel in Westminster where William Barker preached the watchnight service. The next day a conference was held when Winter, Burgess, Edward Routon, James William Bonham, Frederick Gunner, and William Barker planned the strategy for the New Year. A Mr Hull and a Methodist minister were also present, according to one report. Charles Dealtry failed to appear. It was agreed that Burgess and Routon should go to the northern counties; Barker, Winter, and Gunner to the eastern.⁴⁷

Some of these names appear for the first time as missionaries to Britain. Bonham was an Englishman, probably from Somerset, who listened to Dr John Cumming at Queen Street chapel, London, in 1840 or 1841 and then emigrated. Leaving New York in September 1843, he did not expect to return to America, but to be in the Kingdom. On his way to London he gave out papers, and sent some of Litch's German tracts to Holland. Some copies of the Midnight Cry (probably Himes's paper) were sent by Bonham to Van Diemens Land and to parts of England by travellers. He met Gunner and visited the Lloyds in London, leaving them some American papers. 'I obtained employment after my arrival, and nearly the whole of my time was occupied with my business. I had not the opportunity of disseminating the glorious tidings of the Saviour's near approach, to the extent of my wishes.' Bonham will figure more prominently in the later narrative than a mere record of his presence, without a preaching assignment, at the January 1844 conference would suggest.⁴⁸ He wrote from New York in January 1846, and arrived back in England in March

47. Letter, E.Lloyd, MC, 25 Jan.1844, p.211; AH, 14 Feb.1844, p.11; W.F.Gunner mentioned that the meeting was on January 4, and noted that Charles Dealtry was not present. The plan had been for Barker and Dealtry to travel together, so Barker went with Winter and Gunner. Gunner named Burgess and Routon for Yorkshire, MC, 29 Feb.1844, p.251; 28 Nov.,p.170.

48. MC, 28 Nov.1844, p.170.

1847. In April he was working in London which he left in May 1847 to
 49
 work in Bristol.

Routon is a more shadowy figure. Winter refers to him as an
 50
 American lecturer working with him. Bonham calls him English.

Gunner was brought up in England as an Independent. He was
 converted to Second Advent views by William Miller in 1841 and in 1842
 accepted George Storrs's view on the state of the dead. Gunner had
 arrived in England by October 1843, when Bonham met him, possibly in
 London. He had returned to America by November 1844 and remained an
 51
 Adventist until at least 1858.

Charles Dealtry is considered by Louis Billington the ablest of the
 52
 Millerites in Britain. He was certainly the most colourful. The
 readers of the Midnight Cry (New York) were introduced to him as the
 former Charles Beresford. As the son of a clergyman in the English
 Church, he had adopted the name Beresford, that of a family to which he
 was connected, as a stage name for his one and only performance in
 America. He was converted under Storrs and on returning to England
 53
 assumed his original name.

49. AH, 15 Nov.1851, p.318; EAH, 1 July 1847, p.80; 12 June 1848
 p.84; AH, 8 May 1847, p.112; 3 July, p.175.
50. Routon and Rotund are almost certainly to be identified with
 Roturn, an associate of Robert Winter mentioned in Wellcome,
 p.538. MC, 25 July 1844, p.14; ST, 18 Oct.1843, pp.66-67; 25
 Oct.,p.77; MC, 22 Aug.1844, p.54; VTGT, 3 Dec.1845,p. 545; Mrs
 Lloyd refers to Winter and Bouton ST, 14 Feb.1844, p.11; AH, 25
 April 1844, p.95; Winter's letter is printed in shortened form in
MC, 2 May 1844, p.336; despite two occurrences of the name, it
 appears to be a misreading for Routon in Britain. The American
 references almost certainly apply to a different person, AH, 21
 Aug.1844, p.18; Routon and Bouton do not occur in the same
 letter; AH, 24 April,p.95.
51. MC, 28 Nov.1844,p.170; AH, 9 Sept.1848, p.46; 30 Sept.,pp.70-71;
 25 Nov.,p.135; 28 May,1849,p.135; 31 Aug.1850,p.257; 22 May 1858,
 p.166.
52. Billington, 'Millerite Adventists', p.198.
53. MC, 23 Nov.1843, np. He left New York 18 Nov. and was in
 Liverpool before 9 Dec., MC, 11 Jan.1844, p.196; AH, 14 Feb.1844,
 p.11.

He sailed steerage, which as the Midnight Cry pointed out, was the humblest place in the ship, and worked in Liverpool, editing the first known British Millerite periodical, in Nottingham with Micklewood, and with Burgess in the West Country, where he attracted a great deal of hostile press comment. A reporter saw a man 'of spare habit and sallow complexion, with eyes full of fire, and a countenance in which is strongly depicted fanaticism and enthusiasm'.⁵⁴ He seemed something of a poseur, 'putting himself into an oratorical attitude in court and speaking like Othello before the signors'. He would make a good patent medicine huckster. He wore 'a flowing kind of clerical gown with Byronic collar and oriental sash'.⁵⁵ In Plymouth in 1846 he was more conventional in a 'distinctive badge of his vocation - a black silk gown with a black band'. He appeared, even to a reporter who did not accept his teaching, to be 'evidently well educated, perfectly conversant with the Holy Scriptures, an eloquent speaker - correct declaimer and, withal earnest enough in his manner to produce effect'. This made him the more dangerous in deception.⁵⁶

He was aggressive in his handling of theological adversaries. Perhaps his very trying domestic affairs, which by 1846 were somewhat limiting his usefulness, tried his patience.⁵⁷ He was recognized by reporters as the senior partner in Dealtry and Burgess, and sometimes in his earlier partnership with Micklewood. Newspapers reported that one of the Dealtry and Burgess team seemed honest, but that was hard to

54. Trewman's Exeter Flying Post (hereafter Trewman's Exeter FP), 4 Sept.1845, p.3.

55. His 'burning eyes' were noticed by other papers, but they tended to copy good stories, Bristol Mirror and General Advertiser (hereafter Bristol Mirror), 2 Aug.1845, p.6; Bristol Times, 2 Aug.1845, p.4; Plymouth Devonport & Stonehouse Herald (hereafter Plymouth DSH), Dec.1845, p.4; Western Times, 6 Sept.1845, p.2.

56. Quoted in AH, 8 April 1846, p.67.

57. AH, 12 Aug.1846, p.5.

believe in view of successive prophecies and failures. Dealtry featured in Punch, which fastened on his prediction of the day and the hour of the end. He was still labouring in the field following up Himes's work in January 1847. His defection from the Millerite cause is discussed
58
later.

59

Edmund Micklewood, son of a cordwainer, was convinced by reading Hutchinson's Voice of Elijah. '...I was ill at the time, but recovering...and my hands were free from business as my mind was free from care and anxiety. Four of the above papers were sent to Tadcaster, Yorks, and fell into my hands...' He had 'a sort of intuitive conviction, produced simply by the signs of the times, that something great and terrible must come upon the church...ill as I was, I resolved upon instant effort, alone and single handed...', although he realized that this could cost him loss of character, respect, friends, and means. He took the papers to his Superintendent, asked him to examine them, and then report from the pulpit their meaning - their truth or falsity - or allow Micklewood to read them over. The papers, and Micklewood's reception of them, were sneeringly smiled at, and his permission as a public speaker was withdrawn. Nothing daunted by such treatment, he wrote and had published 2,000 copies of a small tract on the vision of
60
Daniel.

Receiving from Hutchinson some free copies of Voice of Elijah, so instrumental in his own conviction, he walked hundreds of miles

58. Western Times, 6 Sept.1845,p.2; 11 Oct.1845, p.3; a visitor newly arrived from Boston seemed to think Dealtry was in charge at Nottingham, MC, 11 Oct.1844, p.119; he was listed as editor of the Midnight Cry, Nottingham (hereafter MCN) without mention of Micklewood by CM, 8(Aug.1844) 414.
59. Possibly of Tadcaster, the place of his earliest independent publication.
60. AH, 17 Mar.1847,p.48.

distributing them gratis. He published a book on the Apocalypse which he immediately withdrew because of imperfections. When he heard that Routon and Burgess were coming to Leeds, he determined to meet them, 'and if the Lord opened the way, to go with them, and endeavour to awaken the community...And here was another kind of cost to count. The utmost was calculated, even death itself, but I have neither suffered want, nor the entire loss of friends, not personal injury, since my⁶¹ voluntary and enterprising career began...'.⁶¹

During a two-year stay in Nottingham he finished his work on the plan of Revelation, and received much light on the subject of baptism⁶² and on church discipline and government. In 1846 he married Anne Hawthorne, daughter of a framework knitter. She was 'a good companion⁶³ who [felt] a lively interest in the cause of God'. Micklewood was elected by the Plymouth Second Advent church as their stated pastor in February 1847. 'To this I submitted because of my health, but the way is still open for the reception of other labourers as ever, and for the exchange of labour'.⁶⁴ It is indicative of the climate in which Millerite lecturers worked that Micklewood should feel it necessary to apologize for taking a settled pastorate rather than continuing as an⁶⁵ itinerant.⁶⁵

William Barker is referred to by Winter as an American, but was probably English. He had formerly worshipped in New York and returned to England late 1843 to preach until after 1845. Later, 'affliction in

61. AH, 17 Mar.1847,p.48.

62. ibid.

63. Entry of Marriage, General Register Office, London (25 Mar.1846). The comment of Richard Hutchinson, who appears later in this narrative, AH, 12 Aug.1846, p.5.

64. AH, 10 April, 1847, p.78.

65. Micklewood's school rooms in Plymouth were used for Adventist meetings, AH, 19 Aug.1846, p.13.

his family' and other circumstances forced him to cease travelling. Possibly he was bereaved, as we find reference to Brother Barker's loneliness. His very full account of itineraries gives a picture of a devoted missionary living at subsistence level.

4. 1844

1844 was the peak year of Millerite activity in America, and also in Britain in terms of the numbers of preachers and publications. The impact on the public is harder to quantify. The figures for baptisms seem scattered and incomplete. The extent of local newspaper coverage depended on what the editors felt to be newsworthy, although it was hard to avoid mention of sensations.

In 1844 there were two, three, or four periodicals, the number depending on the definition of Millerite, and the question of continuity of title. Winter reckoned that there were nine or ten lecturers at work, as 'God has raised up several friends of late to assist in the defense and support of the Second Advent cause'. During the course of the year twelve names appear as actively working in the Millerite cause. This is in addition to the local leaders of Millerite congregations. A chapel was opened in Knottingley, though this seems to have been shortlived. In June, Denman Street, New Radford, Nottingham was opened by the Millerites as the earliest Millerite chapel tenure to last some years.

66. AH, 24 April, 1844, p.95; he was working in Norfolk in late 1845, AH, 26 Nov.1845, p.127; 13 Jan.1846, p.182; he may be the Barker of Goole who was working by lecturing and publications, EAH, 23 Dec.1846,p.48; he may possibly be the W.B. who corresponded in the Biblical Inquirer, Sept.,1844,pp.58-59; in April 1850 he lived near Barnsley, AH, 25 May 1850, p.134; he is probably to be identified with the Barker of Doncaster who prized the Herald, and made it his only counsellor, save the Bible, AH, Feb.1850, p.14.
67. SAH, 4 June 1844,p.89; AH, 5 June 1844,p.142; MCN, 29 June, p.9.

The crisscrossing of Millerite preachers and the geographical extent of their work is perhaps best illustrated by looking at the travels of some of the preachers, recorded in detail in their published correspondence. Frequently there are mere incidental references with only surmise to fill in the gaps in the itinerary. This narrative will follow through the activities of the missionaries one by one through 1844, linking their activities where their paths crossed, or where there is evidence of co-ordinated work.

Early in 1844, after three months of tension between temporal and spiritual occupations, Bonham felt impelled to speak, using a chapel in Westminster. He and Lloyd kept up a meeting for several weeks, though whether in Westminster or in Trinity Chapel, Limehouse is not clear.⁶⁸ Others not named were associated with him.

In April 1844 Bonham travelled with Gunner to Bristol, where they stayed seven or eight days, including the Kingswood camp meeting, which 3,000 to 4,000 people attended. From Bristol Bonham went to Somerset to see relatives. A camp meeting, attended by 3,000 people was held at Ham Hill, Stoke.⁶⁹ Winter and Henry Tanner, brother of the Tanner sisters who kept a school in Plymouth, after attending the two camp meetings, visited adjacent villages with tracts for the next two days, and on their return journey to Bristol met an unruly mob at Somerton. During Gunner's illness Bonham spoke at Bower Hinton, where he was kindly received by the minister, and at Stoke-under-Hamdon, where the Primitive Methodist chapel was overflowing to hear a discourse on II Timothy 4.3,4. An Anglican lady was 'converted' at the chapel meeting and through reading advent papers. From Stoke Bonham and Gunner went to

68. MC, 28 Nov.1844, p.170.

69. AH, 4 Nov.1848,p.110.

Yeovil and gave four lectures in the hired Assembly Rooms. Friends regretted that they did not stay longer. On returning to Bristol they spoke in a small Independent meeting house, meeting a kind reception from persons who professed conversion at Ham Hill. They also gave lectures in the Guinea Street Chapel.⁷⁰

At Weston they had a hearty reception from several warm-hearted Second Advent brethren. An old Independent house was opened for several lectures and attended by about twenty who professed to have had their souls blessed by the earlier visit of Gunner and Winter. From Weston they went on to Berrow and Burnham, spending seven or eight days before going to Taunton. There they gave three lectures in the Temperance Hall.⁷¹ Bonham had intended to be away from London two to three weeks, but in fact had now stayed twelve or thirteen. At Taunton he decided to return to Bristol on his own. He got as far as Yeovil, where he learned that people in Leigh, Dorset were disappointed because their earlier invitation had not received attention. Feeling obliged to accept the opportunity he announced and conducted three open air meetings at Leigh. He then walked the forty miles to Bristol, where he met Dealtry for the first time since they met in New York. Bonham returned to London, and by November was back in the United States.⁷²

This itinerary illustrates the typical pattern of such missions. The stops were too short to organize a congregation. Bonham's work must have been essentially that of preaching the advent doctrine and reviving congregations within their own communions.

In February 1844 Winter wrote from Norwich giving the location of his colleagues. Barker, after a week or two with him in Norwich had

70. MC, 28 Nov.1844, p.170.

71. ibid.

72. ibid.

gone south; Routon and Burgess were in Yorkshire, where the mission was prepared by Hutchinson's papers. Gunner was travelling with Winter;⁷³ Dealtry and others were printing the Midnight Cry at Liverpool.

Evidence of some co-ordination of effort occurs in late March or early April 1844. While in Manchester, Burgess heard that Dealtry and Wilson were at Macclesfield. Having sent for Routon, his companion on the itinerary from London, 'we consulted what to do'. It is not clear how many were involved, but Burgess says that Dealtry and Micklewood went to Sheffield and Nottingham. Burgess wrote from Liverpool where he, Routon and Wilson were spending a few days prior to going to the Isle of Man, 'where a door is open' and a Macedonian cry heard. After this Burgess intended to visit Wigan, Preston, Lancaster, Kendal, Carlisle⁷⁴ and Newcastle, 'should the Lord spare the world'.

Winter's earlier progress has been noted. After the New Year meeting in London, he went with Gunner to East Anglia where Winter at least had previously worked. By March both Winter and Gunner were in Bristol beginning a much publicized ministry, and the first issue of an eight-page paper, the Second Advent Harbinger, was published under their⁷⁵ editorship. The Second Advent cause soon became linked with the Guinea Street Chapel. Winter seems to have been a regular lecturer there, as it was during his absence in Gloucestershire that Bonham gave two lectures. Winter moved to Maidenhead, Berkshire, by mid-August

73. ST, 24 April 1844, p.95.

74. Burgess's letter, Liverpool, 13 April 1844 in SAH, 30 April, p.55; apart from references by Winter, April 1844 in AH, 5 June, p.142, and by Bonham, MC, 28 Nov.1844, p.170. Thomas Wilson is otherwise unknown. He may be related to the British Adventist Wilson family, who emigrated to America. Wellcome, p.536, mentioned that he worked with Dealtry and lists the cities.

75. Gunner's letters in MC, 25 Jan.1844, p.211, 13 June, p.384, 11 July, p.415, 25 July, p.15; Bonham's letter, MC, 28 Nov., p.170.

1844, when he commenced as sole editor of the Advent Harbinger and ⁷⁶Midnight Alarm. His itineraries for the rest of 1844, after he left Bristol, are not clear.

Gunner worked with Winter first in East Anglia and later in the West country. He wrote to his father in New York: 'I have given upwards of one hundred lectures in all, throughout England, and have in connexion with Mr Winter who is travelling with me, published more than ⁷⁷61,000 works, pamphlets and papers of different kinds'. He was at the Bristol camp meeting around April 1844, after which he travelled with Bonham, parting from him at Taunton and going on to Exeter, returning to ⁷⁸America by November.

Routon worked in the north of England in early 1844. He had probably returned to America by the autumn as there is no further ⁷⁹reference to him in England. The early departure of Gunner and Routon illustrates the Millerite problem. If the 'cry' was to announce the Second Advent, either by definite date or imminence, then there was no need to stay to build up congregations. The impermanence of the lecturers in turn made for unstable congregations.

Barker worked with Gunner and Winter in late 1843 in Norfolk and Suffolk. After spending a few days in London in connection with the 1844 New Year conference, and delivering some lectures in the small ⁸⁰chapel in Westminster, he returned to East Anglia as noted by Winter. He gave nine lectures in Brighton and intended to return after two weeks and speak on the beach. Having visited Portsmouth, Gosport, Landport,

76. Bristol Mercury, 27 June 1844, p.8.

77. Barker's letter dated 9 April 1844 in MC, 16 May, p.351; Gunner's letter, MC, 13 June, p.384.

78. MC, 28 Nov.1844, p.170.

79. Winter's letter of 12 Feb.1844 in AH, 24 April, p.94; MC, 22 Aug.1844, p.54.

80. AH, 28 Feb.1844, p.27; 24 April, p.95; MC, 2 May 1844, p.336.

Fareham, Isle of Wight, back to Chichester, Havant, Bognor, Arundel, Littlehampton, Worthing, Brighton and again to Chichester, he felt that 'there is scarcely a place in the neighbourhood where the sound of "The Cry" has not been heard'.⁸¹

As the Millerites in Britain were never formally organized, and had no creed, they found sympathizers with at least some aspects of their message. In assessing the overall influence of Millerism in Britain it may be necessary to distinguish between members and sympathizers.⁸² Unfortunately, the latter can never be quantified. There are only occasional glimpses. Mrs Nicholson, an American on a visit to Ireland, and keeper of a Temperance House, had never fully embraced Millerite views, but had published several articles in early issues of the Midnight Cry. She took Millerite papers with her, considering them 'the very thing'. In Dublin she heard a Free Church Scot preaching on Daniel's little horn. He concluded, 'We are certainly living on the eve of some great event, and we might soon look for the appearing of the Son of Man'.⁸³ Winter had written in 1843, 'We have second advent brethren lecturing here on this glorious subject: and many are looking into it...One of their lecturers assisted us in holding a camp meeting'. This may refer to persons from other churches interested in the advent, or be another way of mentioning Millerite believers who had come to Britain on their own initiative.⁸⁴

R. W. Vanderkiste distributed thousands of advent tracts gratis and published The Prophetic Register. He was disappointed by the failure of

81. MC, 16 May 1844, p.351; 25 July, p.15; SAH, 30 April 1844, p.55.

82. Joseph Barker drew this not unusual distinction, The Christian, 45(14 May 1847), 395; 47(14 Nov.1847), 215.

83. MC, 25 July 1844, pp.14-15.

84. MC, 2 Nov.1843, p.93.

the predictions, but still co-operating with Millerites in 1846. His⁸⁵ later writings do not mention his millenarian activities. Himes discovered two anonymous tracts, both on the year 1844, one of which at least, he believed, could not have been written without reference to⁸⁶ Miller's writing.

5. 1844 and Disconfirmation

1844 was the year of the spring and autumn disappointments in America, and these were reflected in Britain. There was a hint of⁸⁷ possible disappointment in 1843, but Winter warned against discouragement after the failure of the March 1844 date which he himself⁸⁸ had preached. The first specific mention of apostasy was from Liverpool where Curry reported that some had made shipwreck of faith and others had joined the Mormons. This may be related to the spring⁸⁹ disappointment. The Christian Messenger observed, 'When fear, instead of faith, is the moving principle, what is to be expected when⁹⁰ the time has expired, but disappointment and vexation'.

In December 1844 Curry wrote again, perplexed that the Lord had not come, and fearing many would go back and walk no more with the second advent group. There is no record of the numbers involved, but the failure of Millerism to flourish in Liverpool after 1844 may reflect the⁹¹ October shock. The Millerites themselves were contradictory as to

85. MC, 28 Nov.1844, p.170.

86. AH, 19 Aug.1846,p.13; Chapter V, n.23.

87. ST, 16 Aug.1843, p.189. The disappointment may have been more with response to the message than with a disconfirmation.

88. 'A word to those who think the time has passed', SAH, 2 April 1844, p.21; Norfolk & Norwich Monitor, Feb.1844, p.14.

89. AH, 17 July 1844,p.152; compare Routon, MC, 22 Aug.1844, p.54.

90. CM, 9 (Aug.1844), 414.

91. AH, 29 Jan.1845, p.198; in Oct.1845, the Lloyds were said to be disappointed, though whether from 1844 or 1845 was not stated, VTGT, 3 Dec.1845, p. 545.

whether there had been a marked 'seventh month movement' in Britain.

There may have been more excitement over October 1844 in Britain than Millerite sources reveal. On Sunday, 20 October, 'which was among the days when the world was to have been destroyed', the Millerite Bristol chapel 'was crowded during the whole day and night by people waiting for the judgment, and so dense was the throng and so great the excitement, that at different periods up to midnight, several women were carried off in a fainting state'. People abandoned their work and their goods. There was also the 'melancholy case' of 'two respectable ladies and their brother selling all their property and following one of these prophets to Reading'. This is clearly a reference to the Tanner family. An unattributed prophecy in Reading and neighbourhood claimed that the end of the world would be in the course of 1844. There had been two instances of disposing of goods in anticipation of the end of the world in the spring of 1844, around Wakefield and Keyingham, East Yorkshire. Neither of these stories can be positively connected with the Millerites, although their influence should not be ruled out.⁹³

Micklewood lectured in Wakefield in March 1844.

By the end of the year the Nottingham Midnight Cry had already⁹⁴ ceased and there was only one further issue of the Harbinger. The American Millerite faith base, and with it the economic base, had been severely damaged by the event of October 1844. In December Dealtry travelled to Liverpool to meet Himes and some other brethren from America for the express purpose of taking them to Bristol, but was disappointed, a comment on the lack of liaison. No effective

92. Winter spoke of a volume of twelve or thirteen numbers, if time continued, AHMA, 21 Nov.1844, p.72; 30 Nov., p.80.

93. Bristol Times, quoted in CM, 9(Dec.1844), 206-07; Western Times, 6 Sept.1845, p.2; Leeds Times, 6 April 1844,p.4.

94. MCN, 14 Sept; AHMA, 9 Jan.1845.

organization had been built up. Himes did not know the addresses of the British lecturers, but assumed Winter could correspond with them. Gunner, Bonham, possibly Routon, and others had returned to America, perhaps to await the parousia there. Kurr and Brocklehurst, converts in Britain, disappeared from the Millerite scene. Two confident predictions in one year of the end of all things were too much for⁹⁵ journalists to resist and there was Millerite shamefacedness.

6. 1845

1845 was a year of reconstruction for the American Millerites, so little help could be expected from them in men or money. This may be one reason for the dearth of activity in Britain in the first half of the year, or at least dearth of news of activity. Possibly the⁹⁶ missionaries were too busy working to correspond with America.

Barker visited a number of large towns in February and March. Dealtry continued in Bristol. In August and September Dealtry and Burgess attracted a great deal of publicity in Devon with their prediction of the advent to occur on 10 October 1845. Exeter, Tiverton, Plymouth and Devonport were the main centres, though the publicity may have distorted the picture by mentioning only those places where the press was active. Generally, the newspaper reports agree in time and⁹⁷ place with the missionaries' letters.

Winter worked with Tanner on tracts, the latter spending two or three hundred pounds on reprinting American works. Converts were still

95. AHMA, 9 Oct.1844, p.56; Church and State Gazette, 29 Nov.1844 p.759; Joseph Curry's letter, 2 Dec.1844, in AH, 29 Jan.1845, p.198.

96. Burgess, VTGT, 3 Dec.1845, p.545.

97. AH, 26 Nov.1845, p.127; Barker's letter of 2 Jan.1845, in Wellcome, p.538.

being won, Winter baptizing more than one hundred in less than a month. Micklewood continued as leader at Nottingham. The Lloyd family had moved from Bermondsey to Tulse Hill, Brixton, a possible social rise. Though they still loved the appearing of the Lord, Burgess suggested they were unable to assist further, having done 'as much and more than⁹⁸ they were able to spread the truth'.

The Millerites were still actively publishing books and papers: Barker in Norwich, a great number of tracts by the friends in Leeds, and 20,000 Voice of Warning,⁹⁹ which Burgess planned to scatter all over Cornwall. , Winter planned to hold a conference at Exeter and Devonport¹⁰⁰ in December, but to Barker's disappointment it did not occur. This failure illustrated again the lack of cohesion among the Millerites. It is noteworthy that Burgess could write at the end of November without reference to a further disconfirmation, for there seem\$to have been definite preaching of the date 10 October 1845, although Millerite sources have not preserved this. Himes had cautioned against time setting, following the clear line of the Albany statement. When Burgess and Dealtry left Plymouth on the evening of the great day, it looked very much as if they were running away before the deception became evident. However, Dealtry returned eight days later to hold another baptism, proof of the resilience of belief. By December he had promised (or threatened) an early return, having 'a high opinion of the

98. Winter also gave lectures at Brighton, VTGT, 3 Dec.1845,p.545.

99. ibid.

100. ibid.; AH, 26 Nov.1845, p.127; Wellcome, p.538.

101

gullibility of the good people of this neighbourhood'.

7. 1846 and the English Mission

In 1842 the Signs raised the question of a mission to England. 'The facilities for sending it [the true Midnight Cry] all over the world, in the shortest possible time, exist in that country.'¹⁰² At the Boston conference in May 1843 Josiah Litch was ready to go and a committee appointed to receive funds.¹⁰³ The subject was still under discussion in 1844 when the Advent Herald announced that Himes, Hutchinson, and Litch would go to Europe to hold the first conference there in November. Again there was a call for funds for the project.¹⁰⁴

'We intend to bring before the growing population of Europe a hope of deliverance - a "blessed hope"'. If time continued, they intended to send out the good news in different languages, and to Babylon in Italy.¹⁰⁵ A press was to be established in London. Himes explained further, 'This is not a new movement. It has rested upon us with a great weight of responsibility for three years passed, and at two different occasions we have made arrangements to go, but was [sic] prevented by the remonstrances of friends who felt our services were demanded at home'. Now after making arrangements a third time, the pressures to postpone the visit were stronger than ever. He was determined to go, although he

101. Western Times, 11 Oct.1845, p.3; 18 Oct., p.3; Plymouth and Devonport Weekly Journal (hereafter Plymouth DWJ), 26 Feb.1846,p.3; Plymouth DSH, 6 Dec.1845, p.4. Three men and a woman were spotted passing through Ashburton on their way to the north of England. The third man was Charles Stoodley, 'a silly old gentleman', and the woman, Miss Middleton; both of whom had accompanied the 'prophets' into town.
102. ST, 13 July 1842, p.117. 'Mr Miller's lectures should be printed and scattered widely...in other languages'.
103. ST, 7 June 1843, pp.108.
104. AH, 21 Aug.1844, p.20; also printed in Wellcome, p.355.
105. MC, 29 Aug.1844,p.63. Those desiring to help could send funds to any of the three proposed missionaries, AH, 11 Sept.1844,p.48.

could not expect much sympathy from the 'seventh month brethren'. He had done his duty to the New World.¹⁰⁶ However, the 'recent remarkable movement among the advent brethren on the time', i.e., the seventh month movement,¹⁰⁷ caused a third postponement.

Winter had announced Himes's proposed visit, calling a conference of lecturers and brethren for November in London, believing that the Americans had already embarked for England. This hardly squared with a letter from Himes printed on the same page stating that he had once again to disappoint the English brethren, deferring his visit to the Old World in the hope of seeing the new. However, he would come on 1 November, 'if we should be mistaken as to the exact time of the Lord's coming, and the circumstances will justify'. Perhaps Winter had little faith in the seventh month movement, though he did add a saving phrase¹⁰⁸ 'if time continue'. After November nothing more was said in the Harbinger of the American visitors. The mission would have to wait until 1846. After the disappointment of autumn 1845, Dealtry wrote to Himes, expressing his confidence not only in the Millerite understanding of the nature of Messiah's kingdom, but also the time of its establishment. However, Second Advent preachers in Britain were too few and lacked union. There was a sad want of organization. It was essential that the lecturers be able and educated men. This was a reflection of his low regard for his colleagues, if not his own abilities. There is no evidence of active disagreement among the Millerites; Dealtry is probably referring to lack of any co-ordinated

106. AH, 25 Sept.1844, p.64; MC, 26 Sept.1844, p.91.

107. AH, 2 Oct.1844, p.68; 9 Oct, p.56.

108. AHMA, 9 Oct.1844, p.56; a month later Himes was still expected, though there was no mention of Litch, 7 Nov.,p.64.

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 action. Barker wrote of his disappointment at Himes's change of plan. 'It appears that if the Midnight Cry is to be sounded in London the American brethren must come and give it.' Winter and Routon joined him in asking for details of Himes's visit. Barker felt there were several in the churches who would come out and assist in spreading the cry if Himes were there.¹¹⁰ Curry rejoiced in the prospect of Himes's coming to England. 'The visit of a stranger will effect good as a hearing will be obtained.' Like Dealtry, he saw 'singular movements going forward which will shake the kingdom to its centre'.¹¹¹ Burgess felt the need of 'a centre of action' in England; if only Himes and Litch could come over in the spring and edit a paper.¹¹² The British movement seemed to have lost confidence in its ability. There had always been a call for the Americans, but the renewed request in 1845-46 suggests a movement that is not maturing. Winter still seemed to have some measure of leadership in that he planned the conference for December 1845. The venue was, perhaps indicatively, in Dealtry and Burgess country.¹¹³ Winter wrote in late 1845 that notwithstanding most of the brethren who came from America to England had returned, God had raised up others who were carrying forward the work.¹¹⁴ However, by February 1846, there were, according to Micklewood, only four labourers in Great Britain, 'holding fully second advent views and labouring earnestly therein'. Without an injection of American lecturers the

109. Letter 29 Dec.1845, AH, 4 Feb.1846,p.205; VTGT, 17 Feb.1846, p.58; Wellcome, pp.538-39.

110. Letter 2 Jan.1846, Wellcome, pp.537-38.

111. Letter 8 Jan.1846, Wellcome, p.541.

112. Letter 1 Jan.1846, Wellcome, p.540-41.

113. VTGT, 3 Dec.1845,p.545.

114. AH, 13 Jan.1846, p.182.

115

cause would decline inexorably. A proposed Second Advent tract depot in London seems not to have flourished, since no more was heard of it.¹¹⁶

By mid-1846 the Advent cause in America seemed to be in a more hopeful condition than at any time since the great disappointment. Most of the extremists had burned, or were burning themselves out, and controversies within Adventism were quieted.¹¹⁷ Late in 1845, after the October disappointment, Winter wrote that the brethren were looking to 1847 as the end of the 2300 days.¹¹⁸ This meant that 1846 in Britain would not feel the pressures placed on evangelists and congregations by an almost immediate date for the advent.

In May 1846 Himes revived the plan for the English mission and a conference at Boston approved the travel of Freeman G. Brown, Himes and Richard Hutchinson.¹¹⁹ The missionaries carried with them an 'Address to believers in our Lord Jesus Christ in England, Ireland, Scotland and elsewhere' from the New York and Boston conferences. This address, the leading article in the European Advent Herald, which Himes started in London, stated the principles of Adventist beliefs, with that characteristic post-Albany half-apology for separation: 'driven into a more separate and distinct body than we ever anticipated, and against our wishes'. It introduced its three missionaries as 'men worthy of your fullest confidence, as able ministers of the Lord Jesus Christ, who

115. Letter to Himes from Nottingham, 25 Feb., AH, 8 April 1846, p.67. Barker, Burgess, Dealtry, Micklewood, and Winter were active in 1846, though Barker had ceased to itinerate by this time. Tanner was still active and R.W.Vanderkiste interested, but working in the City Mission, AH, 14 Oct.1846,p.77; 21 Oct.,p.85.

116. AH, 13 Jan.1846,p.182.

117. Arthur, 'Come out', p.191.

118. AH, 13 Jan.1846, p.182.

119. AH, 13 May 1846,p.108; 29 May,pp.125-26; 3 June,p.136; Wellcome, p.542.

will, by word and, otherwise, bring more fully before you the great truths so dear to our hearts'. The controversial Joseph Marsh wished
 120
 them well.

Hutchinson, born in Mallerstang, twelve miles from Garsdale, Yorkshire, was sent as a Wesleyan Methodist missionary to Canada in 1839. His numerous English relations included several clergymen. He accepted Miller's teachings in late 1842 and was later forced to leave the Methodist church. Reference has already been made to his paper the Voice of Elijah. He had hoped to visit England in the spring of 1843,
 121
 but the way did not open. In September 1844 he wrote that he was confidently looking for the glorious King in the seventh month if not before. This explains why, a week later, he wrote that going to Europe was not part of his faith. However, if the appointed time should come for the going, he would fulfil his engagements. This suggests less than absolute conviction on the 22 October end. William Miller regarded him highly. A Scottish newspaper reported that he was 'a man of gentle and affectionate address, and has an evidently great knowledge of the subject, which he handled like a workman that had no need to be ashamed
 122
 to speak before all his brethren upon that branch...of theology'.

Brown was a Baptist minister of Worcester, Massachusetts. He wrote Views and Experience in Relation to Entire Consecration and the Second

120. Also Himes's farewell address, AH, 10 June 1846, p.140; EAH, 1 July 1846, pp.1-6; VTGT, 27 May 1846, p.68; 10 June 1846, p.85; 17 June 1846, p.93; 24 June 1846, p.102; 5 Aug. 1846, pp.45-46;

121. AH, 14 June 1844, p.192; AH, 22 July 1846, p.189; 13 April 1850, p.88; 27 Sept. 1862, p.306; EAH, 1 July 1847, p.79; Winter noted that Hutchinson had sent many papers to Yorkshire, AH, 24 April 1844, p.95; 25 Sept., p.59; Hutchinson preached in Yorkshire as a Methodist before going to Canada, AH, 31 Mar. 1847, p.61; he had been confirmed about 1829, AH, 27 Jan. 1863, p.28; 'You have a real helper in Brother Hutchinson...you need such a companion'. Miller to Himes, 27 Sept. 1847, Bliss, Memoirs, p.359.

122. AH, 25 Sept. 1844, p.59; MC, 12 Oct. 1844, p.124; Border Watch, quoted in EAH, 1 April 1847, p.62.

Advent and A Warning to Watchfulness. He registered as a Baptist at the Evangelical Alliance meeting in 1846. On his return to America he preached for the Baptists, although apparently retaining his Adventist beliefs until about 1865, when he joined the Plymouth Brethren and¹²³ opened a book and tract depot in Boston.

The missionaries arrived at Liverpool on 13 June after a twelve day voyage and started work immediately. Knowing the value of good reporting to sustain the interest at home, they wrote full accounts of their travels and impressions.

It is a principle with us, to be busy always either for others or for ourselves; and to be gathering up facts that may be of service to us now, or hereafter, - whether they bear directly or indirectly on the interests of our mission: besides we are aware that at least a portion of your readers will expect a spice of variety in these communications.

Letters are dated from Liverpool, Exeter, Bristol, London, Birmingham, Edinburgh and Belfast, but this is far from exhausting their¹²⁴ itineraries.

The Americans had set themselves an impossible task. When they arrived in Liverpool no satisfactory arrangements had been made for them to speak, a comment on the state of the cause. Himes implied that there was still no central organization through which he could work, no¹²⁵ recognized leader. They had to develop the work in a matter of months, and they could not, as in the years before the great disappointment, simply preach and pass on. They keenly felt the need of consolidation and organization if anything lasting were to be achieved. The very size of London staggered Himes, and called for much longer time

123. Both, Boston, 1843; The Views was later reprinted by Seventh-day Adventists, SDA Encyclopedia, pp.199-200; AH, 29 Mar. 1851, p.54; Sandeen, p.77.

124. AH, 2 Sept. 1846, p.28.

125. AH, 2 Sept. 1846, p.198.

than he was able to spend there. Evangelism at Piltdown showed how much might be accomplished by a 'faithful presentation of truth in connection with judicious management'.¹²⁷ Their stay in London, which began in mid-July, was protracted beyond expectation. The three had not accomplished what would have been anticipated, though they had been exceedingly busy. However, they hoped they might actually have accomplished far more for the cause than if they had worked solidly at preaching the advent. In Himes's opinion the stay in London, with visits to the world's Temperance Convention and the Evangelical Alliance,¹²⁸ had effected more than all their previous weeks in England.

They undertook their mission with considerable energy, and many smiled at the bold plans to raise a thousand pounds for a press in England. Perhaps at that moment Himes felt the first twinge of disillusion, for although the poor gave generously, his silence as regards the better-off members suggests the less helpful spirit he was to meet later among comparatively wealthy adherents.¹²⁹

The itinerants broke new ground entering Scotland, where only literature had gone before, and Ireland, where G. R. Paul is the only other Millerite known to have preached. Hutchinson kept a journal of his Scottish visit. Every day was filled with preaching, reading, or explaining the Word from house to house. Little wonder he recorded being 'repleat with toil'.¹³⁰

However, in England the visitors worked with the existing companies of believers and did not open new causes. Though there was a good deal of movement, as is illustrated by the itineraries, essentially the areas

126. AH, 16 Sept.1846,p.44; 30 Sept.,p.60.

127. EAH, 13 July 1846,p.15.

128. AH, 30 Sept.1846,p.60.

129. AH, 12 Aug.1846,p.5.

130 AH, 4 Nov.1846,p.101.

worked were Liverpool, because it was the point of entry and departure, Plymouth, Exeter and Bristol, Reading and Henley, London, Nottingham and Derby. East Anglia was untouched and Yorkshire received only
 131
 Hutchinson's brief visit in the course of meeting his relations.

The American mission may have provided the stimulus for chapel building. In 1846 chapels were opened in Truro, Derby, London, Exeter, and Piltdown. Winter and Tanner had been working in Piltdown before June. In his 1843 campaign in East Anglia Winter had won large numbers, but there is no record that he attempted to form separated congregations. In 1846 he baptized the Piltdown believers, but the initiative to build a chapel may have come from Himes. Albany Adventism saw the need for settled pastorates and places of worship if the Advent believers were to survive the spiritual rigours of the unbelieving
 132
 world.

In 1846 the barriers to the Advent faith were the tight-fistedness of the believers, the irrelevant or erroneous views associated with the proclamation and the profound bigotry of some who supposed that all the
 133
 truth was with themselves. The persecuting spirit that prevailed and seemed likely to get worse, both in the church and the world, gave little prospect of any extensive impression being made on the British
 134
 public. The interest in the advent felt at the time of Irving and others had died away, and by 1846 there were only a few who took a
 135
 lively interest in it. To Dealtry the people in Taunton seemed very

131. One of the main objects was 'to survey the field, so as to see what has been done in relation to the Advent proclamation, how it has been done, and what remains to be done', AH, 23 Sept.1846,p.53.

132. EAH, 13 Aug.1846,p.16; 10 Oct.,p.30; 20 Nov.,p.40.

133. AH, 26 Aug.1846,p.21.

134. AH, 14 Aug.1847,p.14.

135. EAH, 1 Sept.1846,p.21; hopes of doing something for Scotland and Ireland had been 'almost totally disappointed', Hutchinson, AH, 20 Jan.1847,p.189.

dark with a veil of Judaism before their eyes, so that they would never see the advent as near as the Millerites believed. In Otterton, Devon, there was such bigotry, intolerance and opposition 'as to afford no chance for an Adventist'.¹³⁶

8. 1847

The proposed 1846 conference had been postponed until 1847 and was in fact never held. However, as 1847 began Hutchinson felt the advent cause was rising. For Burgess and others it was a year of expectation, for although it is unlikely that Himes had preached 'time', a definite date for the advent, those who worked in the City Theatre in Milton Street, London, and the Finsbury Chapel were teaching the end of the world, the second coming of Christ, the first resurrection and the judgment in or around 1847.¹³⁷

Burgess wrote to Himes assuring him that the visit had been profitable, that the cause in Exeter was flourishing, that Hutchinson was conducting the Herald with such ability that 'we can, with great confidence, lay it before all denominations'.¹³⁸ Exeter had never been in a more prosperous state than at the end of that year. Bristol had gone through hard times, but in the main, all the churches that had been visited by Himes and Brown appeared to be doing well. Micklewood greatly looked forward to the Advent conference planned for 1847. A few more names appeared as missionaries or correspondents: Brodie, Miss or Mrs Godfrey, and Francis.¹³⁹

136. AH, 4 Feb.1846,p.205; EAH, 1 Sept.1846,p.22.

137. AH,10 Feb.,1847,p.5; Derby & Chesterfield Reporter & Derby Chronicle, 16 Oct.1846,p.6, quoting from West Briton; CMFM, 2(1846),366.

138. AH, 3 Mar.1847,p.24; 17 Mar.,p.48.

139. AH, 3 Feb.1847,p.208; 3 Mar.,p.24; 10 Mar.,p.37; 10 April,p.78; EAH, 10 Oct.1846,p.30. Nothing more is known of Brodie and Godfrey; On Francis and Wyatt, see n. 220 of this chapter.

Plymouth and Truro were building chapels, the vestry of the latter already serving as a meeting house. The apparently insoluble problem was labourers. 'The nominal church is full of idlers...God grant you may return to us in the spring.' Hutchinson had little time for opening work in new places as he was travelling to strengthen the brethren.¹⁴⁰ Micklewood sensed also that time was again becoming important. There was a 'greater probability, and a more general impression on the mind of the church, that 1847 is the year of the Advent, than any time already passed, or any time yet to come'. Micklewood could here be speaking of the widely diffused idea that 1847 was the end of the main prophetic period. However, his personal testimony was that 'we are still unmoved about the time of the Advent; nor can we see any probability of 1847 failing'.¹⁴¹ The Nottingham believers had much confidence in 1847.

In March Hutchinson was torn between answering the clamorous calls for him to return to Canada and staying in Britain. He felt that he should go, but was doubtful who would come from America. Litch had promised to come, Himes wished to, but there was opposition to his leaving America. It was 'an important crisis with the Advent cause' in America.¹⁴² The departure of Himes and Brown in October 1846 and of Hutchinson in June 1847 left a sense of personal loss among the British believers, even though some visits were too fleeting. Such were the problems of crowded itineraries.¹⁴³

140. AH, 10 Mar.1847,p.37; 17 Mar.,p.48; EAH, 23 Dec.1846,p.45.

141. AH, 3 Mar.1847,p.24; 17 Mar.,p.48; 31 Mar.,p.61.

142. EAH, 1 April 1847, p.61; Himes wrote to Hutchinson of strong opposition to his (Himes), leaving America. The brethren were concerned with the Mission but 'the cause at home demands all the strength we can command'. He felt that funds were promised, if he could be spared from USA, but he had decided not to go to England. In May he would consult with Hutchinson and 'adopt such measures as shall be thought best for the cause of Christ..', AH, 17 April 1847,p.84.

143. Watson, writing from Jedburgh, EAH, 20 Nov.1846,p.40; AH, 9 Mar. 1850, p.46.

Himes wrote that nothing but the 'seen hand of God' should prevent his return to England. Though he was pained for the disappointment he would cause, he would 'submit to the will of God'.¹⁴⁴ He sent twenty pounds with the admonition that although there was a disposition to give to the English mission both countries would have to do their utmost in patience, toil, and sacrifice.¹⁴⁵ The European Herald had mentioned the anticipated visit of other brethren from America with a London conference in August. In July the resolutions of the New York Conference of 11 May were quoted, wishing the English well and advising them to hold the faith and look after themselves.¹⁴⁶ Failing help from America, 'we look up and pray for men and means'. 'Co-operation, prayers and other aid' were called for. Though all could not preach, all could help to sustain the preachers and the European Herald, 'a medium of union and information'. Funds were urgently needed if the paper were to survive.¹⁴⁷

The same issue announced that the editors were in no way connected with Charles Dealtry. The lights were going out. Winter was last heard of as an Adventist preacher in 1847 before becoming discouraged and emigrating as a Mormon. The return of Bonham to England in March was good news, to be overshadowed by his suggestion of going back to America four months later. In October he thought that the cause in England might be raised higher than in America 'by judicious treatment'. Again he hoped Himes could return to England. The appointment of missionaries to spread the good tidings at home and abroad was being considered in

144. AH, 1 May 1847, p.104.

145. EAH, 1 April 1847, p.61.

146. EAH, 1 July 1847, pp.76-77, quoting AH; Bristol Times, 26 Dec. 1846, p.2, quoting AH, 2 Dec.

147. EAH, 1 July 1847, p.77; the next issue, reduced to four sides, appeared 12 June 1848.

December. Prophetically, or from experience, Hutchinson noted that 'those who have first been enlightened on the coming of the Lord, are apt to regard every new idea which may float along as an additional development of truth'.¹⁴⁸

9. 1848

The Boston committee on the English mission met in March 1848, setting out its views in a document that filled the whole of the last issue of the European Herald. The friends of the cause in America had not planned to set up any organization in Britain. There was no intention of creating hostility to existing organizations; at least among the 'most judicious, experienced and laborious friends of the cause'. The intention was to point out the 'truths on the Advent question'. A visit by the Americans in 1848 had been planned to extend the work to other nations, using England as a base. However, there had been opposition to this plan from those whose support was necessary. The workers were embarrassed by accusations of self seeking and by ill-¹⁴⁹health from excessive toil.

The Advent teaching was pre-eminently practical and used the word of God very differently from those who dealt in an excess of speculations, dogmas and theories. Opposition had come from the spiritualists who spoke of the grace attained at conversion as the promised return of the Lord. Discoveries in the sciences, and the charitable, moral and Christian organizations of the age, were to be seen as the fruits of Canaan, not of the present world's desert. The

148. EAH, 1 April 1847, p.64; 1 July, p.77; letter 19 June 1847, EAH, 1 July, p.80; AH, 12 June 1847, p.152; 30 Oct., p.103; 4 Dec., p.140-41.

149. AH, 1 April 1848, p.70; EAH, 12 June 1848, p.81.

Address disapproved speculations on the 'transition state' after the judgment, and detailed chronologies setting out events to transpire before the advent, the return of the Jews and probation after the advent. Novelties had arisen within the Adventist ranks also. Adventists in church fellowship with other Christians who might not understand the Advent truth could not safely surrender the claims of God. They should seek the common ground of belief, being 'patient, reasonable, affectionate and wise'. If people would not be won over,¹⁵⁰ the Adventist should not 'take vengeance on their unbelief'.

In September Micklewood wrote his first discouraged report. 'The Advent cause in many places (through the imprudence and misconduct of some) is in a woeful state; but it will, it must, revive again. We want only faithful, persevering and judicious labourers.' The European Herald appeared only irregularly because of 'The want of friends,¹⁵¹ through the absence of unity among the brethren'. Bonham had returned to America, leaving the Tanner family and Micklewood as the only active itinerants. The Tanners were in poor health and their expense heavy, so that they had been forced to rent a cottage and would,¹⁵² when recovered, begin to evangelize the town.

10. Local Studies

A series of local studies of Millerism illustrates the progress of the movement. The difference in the effectiveness and organization of the cause in the places considered depended on the period, early or late, in Millerite history, on the missionaries, and on local conditions and leadership. For example, Devonshire was noted for religious

150. AH, 1 April 1848, p.70; 8 April, pp.78-79; 12 June, pp.82-84.

151. AH, 4 Nov.1848, p.110; EAH, 12 June 1848, p.84.

152. AH, 4 Nov.1848, p.110.

conservatism, although Plymouth may have been an exception. In
Tavistock there was so much prejudice that not even the Temperance Hall
was available.¹⁵⁴ In this section only those places are mentioned where
there is more than a fleeting reference to Millerite work.

Winter began publishing in Bristol in March 1844, choosing a
seaport as had the Mormons with the Millennial Star and Dealtry with his
Midnight Cry both based in Liverpool.¹⁵⁵ Winter and 'a brother
fanatic', Gunner, lectured in the Public Rooms at Broadmead in March to
a crowded audience drawn in by the tracts previously distributed.
Winter declared that the prophetic periods had ended and the end was
imminent, within days or minutes. There was near panic when the
collapse of a bench was mistaken for the crack of doom.¹⁵⁶ Within a
month, twenty lectures had been given and Bristol had become the
principal depot for Advent publications. It is not clear how far Winter
and Gunner tried to form a separate society of believers. Their absence
from Bristol on preaching tours made it difficult to give regular
attention to one congregation.¹⁵⁷ The cause was not helped by the
appearance in Bristol in May of some would-be reformers of all the

153. '...they had been among the last to accept the Reformation...Now they were adamant in their dislike of Puseyism and Tractarianism... At the first approaches of Puseyism in 1841 Latimer scented battle', making himself the spokesman of the extreme Protestant party. Latimer's dislike included the preaching of Dealtry and Burgess, R.S.Lambert, The Cobbett of the West. A Study of Thomas Latimer (1939), p.127.
154. Micklewood lectured once in a room costing thirty shillings and felt much prejudice was removed so that another visit might be more successful, EAH, 1 April 1847, p.63.
155. LDSMS was started in Liverpool and then moved to Manchester; Chapter V, n.25.
156. FFBJ, 23 Mar.1844, p.3; Bristol Times, 23 Mar.1844, p.2; The Bristol Mercury, 23 Mar.1844, p.8, correctly identified them as Millerites.
157. Letter of 22 April 1844, in AH, 5 June, p.142; SAH, 23 April 1844, p.41; Winter's chronological chart was available from Huntley's booksellers of High Street, AHMA, 30 Nov.1844, p.80.

churches. To the newspapers this was just another fanaticism on a level with Millerism. The reformers were hedge preachers indeed, if reports were fair.¹⁵⁸

Micklewood and Dealtry visited what seems to have been a neglected group when in July 1844, 'the fading interest was revived, inquiry excited, self examination and more diligent perusal of the scriptures created, about forty persons were baptized...and many more on the pool side'.¹⁵⁹

Simon Sleep, pastor of the Guinea Street Chapel, wrote to Micklewood in August. It appears that he had adopted Millerite views.¹⁶⁰ Sleep sent an 'entirely false' report that Mr Winter, the Baptist minister of the seven hundred member Counterslip Chapel, now stood pledged to his congregation to preach the second advent doctrine. After Mr Winter had mildly protested, Dealtry, who had been at Bristol since early August, wrote an ill-tempered letter which must have cured him of any leanings he may have had towards the Millerites.¹⁶¹

By October Dealtry had baptized one hundred or more, though the scoffers were so angry they would have killed him. The relation of Simon Sleep and his congregation to Dealtry is not clear. Sleep seems to have brought over his people to Second Advent views after his sixteen lectures. Dealtry's converts probably blended with Sleep's.¹⁶²

158. FFBJ, 22 June 1844, p.3. The letter of 27 May, purportedly sent from one would-be reformer to the mayor, asking for money, may perhaps be a hoax. It seems almost too naive to be true.

159. MCN, 3 Aug.; Ellen Tanner wrote that 'dear brother Winter' had visited Bristol and there was great opposition, AH, 8 May 1844, p.111.

160. MCN, 10 Aug., p.56; E.W. wrote from Bristol describing Sleep as 'very animated and impressive', most faithfully warning people. The Bristol directories list Charles Sleep, draper and haberdasher of 12, Radcliffe Hill, which is near Guinea Street. Simon Sleep is not listed.

161. MCN, 7 Sept., p.88.

162. MC, 28 Nov.1844, p.170; Bristol Mirror, 7 Sept.1844, p.8.

The Guinea Street Chapel had its fair share of dubious publicity. A sailor had interrupted Dealtry by completing the text when Dealtry was preaching on Matthew 24.36. Sleep, who described himself as of no sect or persuasion, but 'of the Christian Church and preach[ing] the doctrine of full salvation and the end of the world', prosecuted. The charge was dismissed as neither preacher nor chapel were proved licensed, and a magistrate pointed out that as they were all going to glory shortly, the annoyance would be short lived.¹⁶³ Three weeks later Sleep charged a small boy with letting off squibs outside the chapel. The boy was discharged for lack of sufficient evidence, and according to one report, the end of the world had been postponed by 'these fanatics' for forty-four years from 10 October 1844.¹⁶⁴

The catalogue of ill-luck or ill-judgment continued. John Wandsbrough, stationer, had let the chapel in August 1843 to a group of six persons, including Sleep, forming a 'Home Missionary Society', at a rent of thirty five pounds a year.¹⁶⁵ Now Samuel Peters, journeyman, tailor and traveller and co-tenant with Sleep, was bankrupt. The financial affairs of the Home Missionary Society were suspect and the chapel was now used by the party that preached the end of the world.¹⁶⁶ Wandsbrough could obtain neither possession of the chapel nor rent.¹⁶⁷

163. Bristol Times, 2 Nov.1844,p.2; Bristol Mirror, 2 Nov.,p.4; Bristol Mercury, 2 Nov.,p.4; 'somewhat chapfallen', FFBJ, 2 Nov.,p.4.

164. Bristol Gazette and Public Advertizer, (hereafter Bristol Gazette), 21 Nov.1844,p.2; identical reports in Bristol Mirror, 23 Nov.,p.3, Bristol Times, 23 Nov.,p.2, and Bristol Mercury, 23 Nov.,p.4; FFBJ, 23 Nov.,p.4. This seems to have been a misunderstanding. 44 years after 1844 had no significance for Millerites.

165. The name of one of the six had been entered against his will, FFBJ, 25 Jan.1845,p.4.

166. The finances of the Home Missionary Society had aroused suspicions earlier, FFBJ, 2 Aug.1844,p.3.

167. ibid.; Bristol Times, 25 Jan.1845,p.3, where Peters is called a Latter-Day Saint; Bristol Mercury, 25 Jan.,p.4.

In the next hearing it came out that Wandsbrough had given notice to quit in December 1843. Sleep held the keys, had paid some rent, but 'did not think it wisdom to give up the chapel'. Sleep's people left in 1845,¹⁶⁸ and Dealtry's cause moved to Barton Street and more trouble. One hard creditor had put Dealtry into the Court of Conscience for the Barton Street Chapel debt. Francis Edney, cleaner and keeper of the chapel, was charged by Dealtry before the magistrates for embezzling funds entrusted to him to pay into the court. Though loath to prosecute, especially one whom he had baptized, Dealtry had found the defendant to be 'a consummate hypocrite and an atrocious liar'. In complaining that Edney had 'vilified his character and abused him most shamefully', Dealtry expressed himself so strongly that the Bench warned him of the danger of himself facing defamation charges.¹⁶⁹ He believed he had 'been grievously put upon by persons entering [his] church under the cloak of religion, and soon after leaving it and vilifying [his] character to other parties'. As most of the individuals were worth nothing, it would be a waste of time and an annoyance to his feelings to prosecute them.¹⁷⁰ Dealtry was saying something significant about the instability of his membership and their social standing. He was also inadvertently commenting upon himself.

There is no direct record of the impact of the 1845 disappointment on the Bristol group, but by 1846, when Himes visited them, they had no chapel and needed a faithful minister to sustain them.¹⁷¹ Dealtry had left. Hutchinson reported in January 1847 that 'the cause has suffered

168. FFBJ, 15 Feb. 1845, p.8; Bristol Mercury, 15 Feb., p.8; 22 Feb., p.4.

169. FFBJ, 2 Aug. 1845, p.6; Bristol Mercury, 2 Aug., p.7; Bristol Mirror, 2 Aug., p.6.

170. Bristol Gazette, 31 July 1845, p.3. He was prompt in putting out of his congregation any who proved not to be 'religious characters', Bristol Mercury, 2 Aug. 1845, p.7; Bristol Times, 2 Aug., p.4.

171. AH, 16 Dec. 1846, p.149.

here in many ways, but there are a few faithful brothers and sisters who are not to be moved...They hire a room which they keep open twice every Lord's day'. Owing to the short notice there were not many there to hear Bonham. In 1847 his three lectures, which filled the Mechanic's Institute with a crowd of 250, were the first public Adventist lectures for eighteen months. He lectured there again in October.

Guinea Street Chapel, near Redcliffe Hill, was opened by John Wesley in 1779 and served until 1828 when Langton Street was opened.

Bristol directories list the tenure as follows:

1829-30	no entry
1831-38	Independents
1839-	no entry
1840-44	Independents
1845	Guinea Street Chapel, listed separately, denomination not given
1846-48	no entry

In December 1847 it had been vacant for about two years. It was reopened in April 1848 by the Congregationalists at a rent of twenty-five pound a year. The loss of the chapel in 1845 may have caused Dealtry's people to emigrate to Barton Street. Less probably, the departure of the Adventists so reduced Sleep's group that it could no longer meet its obligations.

Derby seems to have been an outgrowth of the Nottingham group. By 1846 there was 'a noble little band who held regular services on the Lord's day and once in the week'. Hutchinson lectured twice in the

172. AH, 10 Mar.1847,p.37; this was perhaps the 'little room on Castle Green', 3 July.,p.175; 30 Oct.,p.103.

173. E.Ralph Bates, The Story of Langton Street Wesleyan Chapel, Bristol, Centenary Year 1928 (Bristol,1928),pp.4,5.

174. Information kindly supplied by Mr.G.Langley, County Reference Librarian, Avon, letter 21 April 1980.

175. M.Caston, Independency in Bristol (London and Bristol, 1860), p.220; Ignatius Jones, Bristol Congregationalism: City and County (Bristol,1947),p.86.

176. Gospel Banner, 1 (June 1848),138. This assumes that the Derby believers had by this time become Campbellites.

Mechanic's Hall, the regular platform for Millerite evangelists in Derby at that time. There was a full attendance of 'Churchmen, Dissenters, and all'.¹⁷⁷ Hutchinson opened a hired meeting house in November 1846. About twelve disciples broke bread, a solemn occasion 'in the circumstances of trial under which we were concerned'. Three were added by baptism in December.¹⁷⁸ In February 1847 the large hall was still kept open, and the cause seemed in a better state than on Hutchinson's previous visit. The meeting was served by preachers from Nottingham.¹⁷⁹ Micklewood visited there in 1847.

East Anglia was a focus of early Millerite activity. Bonham sent papers there in 1843 which aroused an interest prior to the visit of Winter and Burgess.¹⁸⁰ In September 1843 Winter was staying with W. D. Sumner, a hairdresser, in King's Lynn, and in November had made East Dereham a 'depot for Second Advent business'. Two men (presumably Winter and a colleague) had preached in the evening in various parts of the town on the advent and millennium to happen in 1844.¹⁸¹ The mission in Norfolk was 'doing exceedingly well', with one of the largest and most powerful camp meetings in the country. 'Our friends' lectured to

177. AH, 18 Nov.1846,p.117; EAH, 10 Oct.1846,p.29.

178. EAH, 10 Oct.1846,p.29; 20 Nov.,p.37; AH,16 Dec.1846,p.149; 30 Dec.,p.165; 10 Feb.1847,p.5. The particular trial of the Derby group is not known.

179. EAH, 1 April 1847,p.62; AH, 30 Oct.1847,p.103.

180. MC, 28 Nov.1844,p.170; J.C.G.Binfield, 'Nonconformity in the Eastern Counties, 1840-1885. With reference to its Social Background' (unpublished Ph.D.dissertation, University of Cambridge, 1965), has deliberately excluded consideration of minor movements, pp.ii,iii.

181. MC, 3 Nov.1843,p.93; Lynn Advertiser and West Norfolk Herald, 12 Sept.1843,p.4; MC, 4 Jan.1844,p.189.

7,000 in Norwich. Press comments were hostile. At a meeting in the Bazaar, the 'exquisitely religious spirit' was shown by cries of 'Throw him out' when somebody ventured a question. The lectures 'were all nonsense', and the speakers did not believe their own proclamations. They were 'a species of Ranter-Puseyites', an unusual assemblage of categories. They were shifty on the date of the advent, although doomsday was scheduled for 21 March 1844. It was not surprising that old Ranters and Christian professors such as Walter, the hotpresser, should be attracted to these anti-Christian notions, a thrust at the social level of the Millerite adherents. The whole scheme was a money

making humbug.

The cause in East Anglia, where there had once been a group of friends to provide some rudimentary organization, went down rather rapidly. Routon noted that many had joined only for fear of the event.¹⁸⁴ Barker spent a few months in Norwich and neighbourhood in 1845,¹⁸⁵ but the Americans did not go there in 1846, no chapels were purchased or built, and apparently nothing remained of a once prosperous mission. Winter and his associates had perhaps not drawn out their believers into separate congregations, and as the spring and autumn of 1844 passed, and the survivors experienced the disappointment of 1845, hope faded.

Exeter, the seat of Bishop Phillpotts, did not welcome Dealtry and

182. At Litcham, 5 miles from Dereham, MC, 4 Jan.1844,p.189; E.Lloyd, AH, 28 Feb.1844,p.27; Gunner and Winter were in East Anglia in February, but Barker had left for the South, Winter's letter 12 Feb., AH, 24 April,p.95; the friends in Norwich had organized the hiring of a hall for public meetings, but no room or chapel is mentioned, AH, 14 Feb.,p.11.

183. Norwich and Norfolk Monitor, 1 Feb.1844,pp.14-15

184. MC, 22 Aug.1844,p.54.

185. Burgess, AH, 26 Nov.1845,p.127; 13 Jan.1846,p.182. Winter wrote to Bonham who wrote from New York, 6 Jan., so it is impossible to fix the time of Barker's stay.

Burgess. The Western Times apologized for a lengthy article on the prophets, hoping that 'the dear old city will not make an Ass of itself'. The article alleged that police action gave Dealtry and Burgess the notoriety they sought. Their forebodings had a hold on the minds of the poor. In Bristol and Taunton they had preached the date 11 October 1844, leaving people in a state of 'horrible apprehension'. If Dealtry had been inspired, as he claimed, he could not have made a grave error in calculation.¹⁸⁶ Dealtry and Burgess came before the magistrate for obstructing the public streets. The Deputy Town Crier had rung his bell, and Dealtry or Burgess had announced 'Christ is coming to judgment'. Public announcements were only to be made by an authorized person. Dealtry took his stand on the Bible, the Chairman on the Improvement Act. A licensed minister should speak in a licensed place, but it seemed that none was open to them. A Doctor Barham suggested that no serious obstruction of the highway had taken place, and that the charges were brought on theological grounds. Dealtry was advised to cancel the meeting on Exe Island and use the Subscription Rooms. They held the biggest meeting there since the Anti-Corn Law meetings, with fourteen hundred in attendance on the third evening, tracts being 'plentifully distributed among the greedy and wondering multitude'.¹⁸⁷ None of the clergy accepted the challenge to debate the prophecies. Both speakers used 'considerable eloquence, great zeal and earnestness of manner'. The meeting ended in uproar with a mob breaking in and the proprietor fearing for the safety of his rooms.¹⁸⁸ By 18 September the

186. Bristol Times, 25 Jan.1845,p.3; Western Times, 6 Sept.1845,p.2. Dealtry explained his error in that he began at the beginning of the first year (from creation) instead of the end.

187. 'The Preachers and the Magistrates', Trewman's Exeter FP, 4 Sept.1845,p.3; 11 Sept.,p.3; Plymouth DSH, 13 Sept.,p.3, mentioned 'extraordinary fanaticism'; Western Times, 6 Sept.,p.3.

188. ibid.,; Trewman's Exeter FP, 4 Sept.1845,p.3.

'Last Day Men' had departed with 'their hieroglyphics and diagrams...and having wrought in their hearers some singular instances of extravagance' had 'left them and all to their fate'. Conservative Exeter yielded 'very few dupes', as contrasted to Plymouth and Devonport, although some baptisms were reported.¹⁸⁹ Winter's proposed conference at Exeter or Devonport in December 1845, as noted earlier, never occurred.¹⁹⁰

To combat the prevalent 'spiritualism' Burgess hired the 500 seat Exeter Hall, Fore Street, and there Himes preached in June 1846.¹⁹¹ By August there was a considerable number of converts, and a baptistry was being built.¹⁹² Meetings were held on Monday, Tuesday, and Friday evenings, and three times on Sundays, when the hall was filled.¹⁹³ The Exeter group was referred to as Burgess's congregation, Dealtry having moved on. One could hardly see that restless spirit in a pastoral role for long.

In early 1847 Hutchinson visited Exeter, found the cause greatly improved, and 'preached to good audiences', breaking bread with 'a precious little church'. Next day 150 sat down to tea after which the doors were opened to the public and Hutchinson gave a two hour narration of the size, progress and present state of the Advent cause in the U.S.A., Canada, England and Scotland.¹⁹⁴ Despite this, a report in March indicated that the hall 'had been given up and the cause had gone

189. ibid, 18 Sept. 1845, p.3; Western Times, 11 Oct., p.3.

190. AH, 26 Nov. 1845, p.126.

191. EAH, 1 July 1846, p.7; AH, 29 July 1846, pp.197-98; it was presumably in Exeter Hall that Burgess had recently baptized 9 in the newly built baptistry, EAH, 13 Aug., p.14; AH, 2 Sept., p.29.

192. 'All immersed into Jesus for the remission of their sins and the coming of the Lord in 1847', CMFM, 2(1846)366; by September 61 had been baptized, AH, 30 Sept. 1846, p.61; by October Burgess had baptized 40 in six months, AH, 16 Dec., p.149. The discrepancy may be between the number of converts and those actually baptized by Burgess.

193. EAH, 13 Aug. 1846, p.16; AH, 30 Sept., p.61.

194. Hutchinson, AH, 10 Feb. 1847, p.5.

down a little'. However, by December the Advent Church in St Olave's
¹⁹⁵
 Square had been acquired.

In Hertford, certainly not a Millerite centre, a correspondent reported that in 1846 there were 'a great many Christians who believe in the second advent' and who would willingly become subscribers to the Advent Herald. The Independent minister was giving a course of lectures on the subject, two of the Church of England ministers were firm believers, and a large body of saints called Plymouth Brethren were waiting for the revelation of Christ. A few weeks later the Tanner
¹⁹⁶
 sisters sought accommodation in the county.

Hull illustrates the ephemeral nature of some Millerite influence. Burgess was kindly received by ministers and people and spoke in three chapels and the Temperance hall. The truth had 'gone for fifty miles round, or upwards'. The South Street Methodist chapel was strongly influenced by Millerism. Yet nothing further is known of Millerism in
¹⁹⁷
 the area, unless the incident at Keyingham, noted above, is related.

Routon and Burgess visited Leeds in early 1844, placarding the city with announcements of their intention to show that the world would end within the year. Burgess opened his mission in the Bazaar while Routon spoke in the Music Hall, thus reaching the poor and rich. An Independent Chapel, formerly Mr Hamilton's, was offered to them, and
¹⁹⁸
 became known as the Second Advent Chapel. This seems to have been a

195. AH, 1 May 1847, p.101; J.W.Bonham, The eternal punishment of the wicked, not annihilation...three lecturers delivered at the Advent Church...Exeter, 1847, Dec. 19th and 26th, 1847 (London & Exeter, 1847).

196. AH, 30 Sept.1846, p.61; 28 Oct., p.93.

197. SAH, 30 April 1844, p.55; Messenger of Mercy and Old Methodist Revivalist, 2(1844), 126; AH, 25 July 1844, p.15.

198. MC, 25 July 1844, pp.14-15; Leeds Times, 17 Feb.1844, p.5; SAH, 30 April 1844, p.55; Burgess preached there two to three weeks, MC, 25 July 1844, p.15.

short lived arrangement as there was no Millerite meeting place in 1847. The pastor of the Christian Temperance Church lent his pulpit in late 1846 and this led to a request for a series of meetings in the Music Rooms. Leeds seemed as hostile to Millerites as to Temperance.¹⁹⁹

In 1845 the friends in Leeds printed tracts and a sermon. Burgess was given 300 copies, but Leeds still needed more American papers.²⁰⁰ Brother Turton, who probably helped to pay for the printing, was a leader of the Wesleyan Society in Brunswick Chapel, but wholeheartedly in the Advent cause.²⁰¹ The 'small company of excellent believers' of December 1846 contained only four or five of those originally enlightened by Routon and Burgess, Micklewood and Winter. However, Adventists were working in an area six to eight miles around Leeds and still winning converts. Thomas Smith, formerly a local preacher, had written on and was preaching the second advent in the area in 1846.²⁰²

Charles Alfred Thorp, a flour and horse corn dealer, emerged as the leader of the Leeds group. He wrote to the Advent Herald an explanation of Isaiah 65.17-20, a knotty text for those who believed in the

199. In March 1844, J.Mason gave a course on 'Christ's second coming and the signs attendant thereon'. The series, held at the New Jerusalem Chapel, Embsay, was well attended and well received, Leeds Times, 2 Mar.1844,p.4; AH, 6 Jan.1847,p.173. A survey in 1848 claimed that of the thirty-four Established clergy, 11 were Evangelical, 23 Puseyites. In addition there were 14 Wesleyan, 5 Independent, 4 Baptist, 3 Methodist New Connexion, 3 Wesleyan Association (Free Church), 2 Primitive Methodist, 3 Roman Catholic, and 1 Unitarian. Of the 69, 56 were against and 13 for the Temperance cause, H.Marles, Life and Labours of the Rev.Jabez Tunnickliff (1865),p.230. The name is sometimes spelt with a terminal 'e'.
200. AH, 26 Nov.1845,p.127. The papers were to be addressed to the printing house of Grimshaw and Turton, 11 Victoria Road, Leeds.
201. EAH, 1 April 1847,p.62.
202. Thomas Smith of Leeds wrote, 'Better days are coming, but a most dark and dreadful day is coming first', ST, 25 Oct.1843,p.79, in AH, 6 Jan.1847,p.173; C.A.Thorp, 30 Sept.1847, before the October 1847 disappointment, AH, 27 Nov.1847,p.135; 6 Jan.1847,p.173.

perfection of all creation at or in consequence of the advent. He wrote again in July 1848 giving an account of Bonham's successful month in Leeds, using an unoccupied chapel, and of the prospect of his shaking the town if he could stay. The door seemed open 'all over Yorkshire, the north of England, and perhaps the greatest part of Scotland'.

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Dealtry published his Midnight Cry in Liverpool early in 1844. Burgess, Routon and Wilson evangelized there. There was no Second Advent chapel in April, but a 'little band' led by Dockmaster Curry was still looking for the coming. Winter's Advent Harbinger was being sold there in late 1844. In 1846 a few were meeting together on a week night; they had not separated from the churches. No suitable arrangements for public evangelism could be made on Himes's visit. By November 1846 a place of worship was opened. A farewell was held for Himes in Toxteth Hall. In May 1847 the friends were doing what they could in a quiet way, reporting several conversions, especially among the young.

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Mrs Lloyd saw great possibilities in London if lecturers were sent from America. 'Ministers would come from many miles to hear lectures on the subject. I think there are several in this city who partly believe it; many are expecting some great event soon to take place.' By November 1843 two or three were lecturing in different chapels, holding Bible meetings and reading books to the people. A book depot had been

203. AH, 30 Oct.1847,p.103.

204. AH, 2 Sept.1848,p.35.

205. MC, 12 Feb.1844,p.244; AH, 24 April 1844,p.95.

206. MC, 16 May 1844,p.351; SAH, 20 April,1844,p.55; MC, 11 Oct.1844,p.119.

207. AHMA, 30 Nov.1844,p.73.

208. AH, 4 Mar.1846,p.30; 29 July,p.197; EAH, 1 July 1844,p.7.

209. AH, 16 Dec.1846,p.149; 27 Jan.1847,p.197.

210. AH, 5 June 1847,p.141.

211. Routon, ST, 18 Oct.1843,p.67; 25 Oct.,p.77.

established and believers were writing covering letters as they despatched books and papers. However, London 'appears to be the worst place in the country for genuine religion, and of course for the Second Advent'.²¹² Barker spent a few months in London in 1845, but there are no details of his work and later in the year Winter reported that the brethren were about to open a Second Advent Tract Depot in London.²¹³ Evidently the 1843 depot had closed.

In August 1846 meetings were being held in different parts of the city (detail is frustratingly lacking) 'with some token of good'. Himes²¹⁴ lectured in the Temperance Hall, Waterloo Road, in August. Brown preached at Park Street Baptist Church and Hutchinson was invited for the following week. It took 'great pains to secure suitable rooms for meetings', an indication that pulpits were not generally opened to the Millerites.²¹⁵ In October a chapel seating four to five hundred was hired for believers in London, possibly the same Finsbury Square Chapel that John Zion Ward had used in 1831.²¹⁶ Much depended on 'the friends now coming substantially forward to sustain the place and keep its doors open'. There was only a 'small company...not able to give a competent support to a permanent meeting'.²¹⁷ Lectures and meetings were held in the Lecture Institute, Milton Street, Finsbury and then in the Windmill Court chapel. This might suggest two congregations, but more probably a public meeting was held in Milton Street and the faithful followed with

212. MC, 4 Jan.1844,p.189. Some of this activity is noted under the itineraries of the missionaries; Mrs Lloyd, AH, 17 July 1844,p.186.

213. AH, 26 Nov.1845, p.127; 14 Jan.1846, p.182.

214. EAH, 13 Aug.1846,p.16; AH, 16 Sept.1846,p.45.

215. AH, 9 Sept.1846,p.40; 23 Sept.,p.54; there was no permanent place of worship, EAH, 1 Sept,p.21.

216. EAH, 10 Oct.1846,p.30; Harrison, Second Coming,p.158.

217. EAH, 10 Oct.1846,p.30; AH, 9 Dec.1846,p.141.

218

a meeting in the chapel. Lectures were given in the British School, Conduit Street, Islington, and the Eastern Lecture Hall, Church Lane, ²¹⁹Whitechapel.

Dealtry, Wyatt, Francis, and Paul were at work in London, but there is no indication of how they shared their labours. They had baptized ²²⁰forty by December. That month Hutchinson returned to London to issue the European Herald. He lectured there with success if he could judge from the general wish among the brethren that he should remain in the city and feed the flock. ²²¹This seems some reflection on the ministerial abilities of Dealtry and associates. The cause appeared to be advancing, with three places open for lectures, and the congregation ²²²at Finsbury Square 'large and intelligent'.

Nottingham was a town of rich religious life, Anglican and Nonconformist, as well as fringe groups. It was a base for tract society activity among the Wesleyans and was strong in Primitive ²²³Methodists. By May 1844 Micklewood from Wakefield and Dealtry from Liverpool had moved to Nottingham 'where we have taken our stand -

218. EAH, 10 Oct.1846,p.30.

219. EAH, 23 Dec.1846,p.44. The report speaks of the church continuing to meet in the chapel as if this was the only Millerite group.

220. EAH, 10 Oct.1846,p.30; 23 Dec.,p.44; AH, 23 Dec.1846,p.157; 8 May 1847,p.112; Francis is otherwise unknown. Wyatt was still working in Jan.1847, AH, 10 Feb.,p.5; In July Mr Wyatt of Truro was local agent for the EAH, 1 July 1847,p.80; A.D.B.Wyatt wrote from Moira, NY, in Feb., Bible Advocate (Hartford, CT), 24 Mar. 1847,p.66.

221. AH, 10 Feb.1847,p.5. He omitted the flattering reference in the EAH, which he was editing.

222. Hutchinson, AH, 10 Mar.1847,p.37.

223. The fullest account is John C.Weller, 'The Revival of Religion in Nottingham. 1780-1850' (B.D.thesis, University of Nottingham, 1957), On Methodism in New Radford, pp.78,93,95,100,112,113,115. 'Mormons, Huntingtonians, Swedenborgians, and one or two others' were noted, not Millerites or Adventists by name, ibid., p.175. A few General Baptists, among others, were carried away 'by the baneful delusion of Irvingism', in 1836, ibid.,p.144.

making it a central position', as had the Churches of Christ. The
 224
Nottingham Review favourably reported Millerite lectures in the Assembly
 225
 Rooms and in the Campbellites's Barkergate Chapel. By June the
 Millerites had taken a three month rental of a former Independent Chapel
 226
 in the newly developed working class suburb of New Radford. From
 Nottingham neighbouring villages were evangelized, particularly in 1844.
 Millerite 'laymen' from Nottingham lectured to attentive audiences in
 Carlton and Ruddington with 'an hopeful prospect of a little fruit'.
 Mrs Lloyd, writing from London, felt the cause was prospering in
 Nottingham in the early summer of 1844. A congregation of about 500 was
 227
 reported in September.

Meetings were held in the market place, publicly comparing the
 Bible with 'the false doctrines of the present day'. This type of
 activity was frowned upon by Wesleyans as they moved up the social
 228
 scale. Rural camp meetings were part of the great revival of 1817-18
 229
 but were associated with the Primitive Methodists or Ranters. A camp
 meeting held in May and harshly noted by the Nottingham Journal was
 probably organized by the Primitives. The Millerites had hardly been in

224. MC, 25 July 1844, pp.14-15; Brit.Mill.Harb., Aug.1851,p.373.

225. Nottingham Mercury, 3 May 1844,p.2; Nottingham Review, 3 May,p.4;
 'Crowded audiences sufficiently attest their intent, held by a
 bewildering succession of census', ibid., 17 May,p.8; On the
 Barkergate chapel, Weller, 'Revival', pp.118-19,175; the chapel
 was also used in May for lectures on mesmerism, Nottingham
 Review, 24 May 1844,p.8.

226. MCN, 22 June, p.8; on the growth of New Radford, W.H. Wylie, Old
 and New Nottingham (Nottingham, 1853),pp.365-66; William White,
History and Gazetteer of Nottingham (Sheffield,1844),p.516.

227. Nottingham Review, 14 June 1844,p.8; 5 July,p.5; Micklewood had
 enlisted three local assistants, Harry Clark, Christian and David
 Widdowson, in the mission to Carlton and Ruddington, MCN, 31
 Aug.,p.80; AH, 17 July 1844,p.186; Bro.McElherran, newly arrived
 from Boston, mentioned Dealtry as leader,MC, 11 Oct.1844,p.119.

228. MCN,6 July,p.24; Weller, 'Revival', pp.70,75,102; Primitive
 Methodists were also associated with women preachers, ibid.,p.104.
 Was Mrs Winter a woman preacher or a door-to-door missionary?

229. Weller, 'Revival', p.107.

the neighbourhood long enough to prepare such a function. The Millerite camp meeting in the Forest later in the year does not seem to have drawn the critics' ire or notice.²³⁰ New Radford had a Primitive Methodist chapel in 1827, with forty-six members by 1830, organized in three classes with four lay preachers.²³¹ The Primitives seem to have provided a recruiting ground for the Millerites. Their meeting house at Bingham was 'crowded to suffocation', as two Millerites lectured on Daniel 8 and 9. The Nottingham Journal reporter thought they were Latter-Day Saints. The Review, edited by the Methodist New Connexion lay preacher, Richard Sutton, would not have made that error.²³² In July Micklewood and Dealtry, now termed Mormonites ('wandering demons') 'received much patronage from a nondescript sort of religionists, a split of that queerest of all queer sects, the Ranters'. Twenty-eight were baptized in the shallow river Smite, near Bingham. This baptism of Ranters by Micklewood seems to have led to a schism at Bingham. The 'new Ranters-Mormon faction', for the Journal had not discovered what title they intended to use, met for the first time in a house on Sunday,²³³ 15 September.

230. Nottingham Journal, 31 May 1844, p.3; MCN, 7 Sept., p.88.

231. Methodist New Connexion. A Jubilee Memorial of the Local Preachers' Conference (Nottingham, 1876), pp.78-81; Nottingham Journal, 31 May 1844, p.3.

232. The Nottingham Review was founded by Charles Sutton in 1808, who had followed Alexander Kilham into the Methodist New Connexion. The Review, was to be a mouthpiece for reform. In the 1830s it was hostile to Anglican clergy, and in the late 1840s was antipuseyite. Weller, 'Revival', pp.208, 227-37; Richard Sutton, who succeeded his father in the Review, printed a Millerite book, and most of the numbers of the MCN. The Review gave a sympathetic hearing to Dealtry and Micklewood in May and June 1844. He did not publish news of them after this date, probably because to do so might appear too favourable, though see 12 July 1844; As he ceased to print the MCN after 10 August, there may have been a difference of opinion.

233. Nottingham Journal, 5 July 1844, p.3; 20 Sept., p.3; MCN, 6 July, p.24 for the baptism of 27 persons. The Bingham schism is not mentioned. The last issue of MCN was 14 Sept.

By October 1845 Micklewood had baptized over 300. In 1846, a sick man, he left the itinerancy of Nottingham for a settled pastorate in Plymouth.²³⁴ Later that year Himes spoke four times in a neat little chapel, presumably the New Radford premises. There was quite a good congregation of Adventists raised by Micklewood and others. They had no stated minister, but 'having intelligent and faithful brethren, of good report, who take the oversight of the flock, and attend to the ordinances of baptism and the Lord's Supper, they increase in grace and numbers'. Six men, probably termed 'elders', led the services in rotation.²³⁵ Hutchinson lectured to large congregations in 1847, though another report spoke of 'the little society...well established and left in an efficient state for progress'.²³⁶ There is no direct indication of the effects of successive disconfirmations upon the group. The relationship between Campbellites and Millerites in Nottingham is discussed in Chapter IX.

The Plymouthians are proverbially more accessible to novelties and vagaries of all kinds than any other people...here Southcottianism had its special quarters, then Irvingism, this other great ism which was to lead us in a Goshen of unity...next...manufacturing of prophetic dates, repeal of future punishment, and fabrication of Christians after a new order by means of the bath...

So 'Anti-Humbug' described the Millerite mission, which now had a three-fold message of the advent with a time element, conditional immortality,²³⁷ and baptism by immersion.

234. AH, 26 Nov.1845,p.127.

235. EAH, 10 Oct.1846,p.24; AH, 18 Nov.1846,p.117; 30 Dec.,p.165; 10 Feb.1847,p.5.

236. EAH, 1 April 1847,p.62; AH, 17 Mar.1847,p.48. The large congregations might be a crowd attracted by a visiting preacher. If the society was little, it suggests a high apostasy from the 300 baptized; Micklewood visited Nottingham briefly in 1847, AH, 30 Oct.1847,p.103.

237. Plymouth DWJ, 19 Feb.1846,p.4; AH, 12 Aug.1846,p.5; Himes noticed that 'Plymouth and the towns adjoining [were] great dissenting boroughs', illustrated by the questioning of politicians, AH, 19 Aug.1846,p.13.

The cause in Plymouth was raised in a short time in 1845 by Dealtry and Burgess. Mindful of past apostasies in Adventist groups, Himes²³⁸ prayed that it might not soon be scattered. Preaching began in September and the wide publicity ensured very full attendances at their lectures in the Central Hall and in Devonport. Police were called for crowd control. Burgess, introducing Dealtry, said that they had visited hundreds of other towns with their doctrine. They were open to conviction if it could be proved wrong. Dealtry spoke rapidly for about two hours and left the reporter confused. Frequently referring to his chart, Dealtry went at length into the history of Napoleon Bonaparte, and the Pope 'came in for his full share'. Christ was coming on 10²³⁹ October 1845, which was actually 1847. The two evangelists made 'a considerable impression...upon a large number of persons' in this 'profoundly religious neighbourhood'. There was a debate in Devonport Town Hall, and lectures given on baptismal regeneration 'clearly stated and unequivocally defended', and conditional immortality. 'Sixty²⁴⁰ simpletons' were baptized in Deadman's Bay.

In July 1846 Himes and Brown were welcomed by Dealtry, Micklewood and Burgess who had announced the visitors' arrival in a 'flaming handbill calculated to raise public expectation higher than we desired'. A crowd of 1,000 responded. The Americans stayed ten days preaching²⁴¹ almost every evening. There was a social assembly of 500 with the twofold object of welcoming the visitors and raising funds including the

238. AH, 12 Aug.1846,p.5; he felt anxiety for this 'largest company of believers identified with us...a city set on a hill...many eyes are turned towards them, ready at their least deviation from strict Christian integrity, or relapse into...worldliness or on the other hand, spiritual pride...', EAH, 13 Aug.1846,p.14.

239. Plymouth DSH, 4 Oct.1845,p.3.

240. ibid, 11 Oct.1845,p.3.

241. AH, 12 Aug.1846,p.5; EAH, 1 July 1846,p.7; 13 Aug.,p.14.

chapel rent of two pounds a week. Himes was very impressed with the decorum of the occasion and outlined his plans for a printing establishment.²⁴² In November Plymouth was still rated the largest and most flourishing society in Britain, and Micklewood was doing well as pastor. Devonport Town Hall was hired for Himes to speak to 2,000 of all sorts and classes on popery.²⁴³ In December 'the cause [was] steady, the congregations good, and the falling away very few'. The failure in the anticipated time of the advent caused a reaction and 'might have ended more fatally'. The lesson was clear; the society should stand 'on firmer ground than a point of time, determined by fallible judgment'. The believers had resolved to 'build a chapel without delay to free themselves from embarrassment, and for other proper reasons'.²⁴⁴ By March 1847 the number had increased a little with better attendance at the Lord's table and a growth in spirituality.²⁴⁵ In June 1847 J. W. Bonham preached twice to 'a goodly crowd' in the Central Hall and the next day at the chapel in Park Street.²⁴⁶ The Second Advent chapel, Wyndham Street, was opened 16 July 1848. It was 'situated some little distance from the town...the paths being not sufficiently solid to render it easy of access'. Despite this the cause was never so healthy as in late 1848, with the chapel well filled to its capacity of 700 each Sunday. Burgess and Micklewood were

242. AH, 12 Aug.1846,p.5.

243. AH, 16 Dec.1846,p.149.

244. EAH, 23 Dec.1846,p.45.

245. Micklewood, AH, 10 April 1847,p.78; in December 1846 Hutchinson had sat down to tea with between 400-500, and we observed the old year out, 'and the new one in, in regular Methodist style, and sang, "Come let us arise, our journey pursue"', AH, 10 Feb. 1847,p.5. Hutchinson and Micklewood were ex-Methodists. Does this extract indicate that many of the Plymouth Adventists were also from branches of that communion?

246. EAH, 1 July 1847,p.80.

in charge of the group, but doctrinal changes were occurring in both
²⁴⁷
 leaders and congregation.

Dealtry and Micklewood visited Sheffield in March or April 1844. A report was put around that the world would end 17 April 1844 and that a meeting of the Mormonites was to be held to await the end. A disgraceful handbill ridiculed the rumour and a 'good deal of profane jeering indulged in...[on] a subject of too solemn importance to be trifled with'.²⁴⁸ Himes and his associates made no attempt to preach in Sheffield in 1846, though leaving a few papers.²⁴⁹ In contrast to the disturbance of 1844 there was now a disposition to hear. Some local preachers of the Wesleyan Methodists were preaching the doctrine. 'The Advent is considered the life and the test of spiritual life.' Mr Wellesley, favourite nephew of the Duke of Wellington and a Plymouth Brother, who until recently lived in Sheffield, was a preacher of the advent nigh. Mr Trotter had given his talks to a packed house of 250. The significance of the next passage hinges on the meaning of 'the brethren' in the context. 'The brethren are building a chapel in which to worship; they mostly sympathize with the Plymouth Brethren, who are very exclusive, or perhaps we might have got a hearty request to tarry and speak the word.'²⁵⁰ Relations with Mr Wellesley remained cordial.

Dealtry and Burgess returned to Tiverton (the date of their first visit is unknown) in September 1845, declaring the end for 10 October of that year. The best pulpit they could find was the White Horse Inn for which they charged twopence admission fee. As the audiences were not

247. Charles Stoodley, in AH, 6 Oct.1849,p.79.

248. Barker, MC, 16 May 1844,p.351; Sheffield Mercury, 20 April 1844,p.6. It is possible that Dealtry and Micklewood had proclaimed an April date for the advent.

249. AH, 6 Jan.1847,p.173.

250. AH, 6 Jan.1847,p.173; on Trotter, Rowdon, Brethren, pp.135,175.

'numerous, intelligent, or respectable' the evangelists sought to create more excitement by a public baptism in the river Loman. Eight or nine were baptized, reportedly at two shillings a head. The one or two hundred 'dirty vagabonds' who made up the spectators must have damaged fences, and the owner of the meadow suing for trespass, 'the evangelists²⁵¹ bolted'.

Dealtry returned in October with the financial patron of the Devonshire Millerites, Charles Stoodley of Tiverton, 'a silly old gentleman', and Miss Middleton, a newly baptized convert. Dealtry had found an excuse for the disconfirmation, and another public baptism was to be held. Burgess was still preaching and baptizing in November²⁵² allegedly now charging half a crown. In August 1846 Burgess was fined after persisting, despite repeated warnings by the authorities, in street preaching to mobs of the lower classes. After 'firing several volleys of abuse at the Bench' he was fined and on refusal to pay, was²⁵³ jailed, at which he quickly found the money. Though Stoodley's house served as a meeting place for sympathizers, no regular cause seems to have been established in Tiverton, and Himes was disappointed in his hopes of unfurling the standard there, probably as no hall was²⁵⁴ offered. Himes was not going to be involved in street preaching.

Dealtry made a 'hasty route' through Cornwall in July 1846, convincing some in Truro. In late 1846 Hutchinson, unable to visit Truro and Falmouth, although invited, heard that the 'infant cause is

251. Trewman's Exeter FP, 25 Sept.1845,p.3; Western Times, 27 Sept.1845,p.3.

252. ibid., 18 Oct.1845,p.3; having preached 1844, and 10 Oct.1845, as the dates for the advent, they now asserted an error in their arithmetical calculations and were predicting some time in 1847, Trewman's Exeter FP, 27 Nov.1845,p.3.

253. ibid., 20 Aug.1846,p.3; Besley's Devonshire Chronicle, 25 Aug. 1846,p.6; Wellcome, pp.539-40.

254. EAH, 13 Aug.1846,p.14.

rising' at Truro, an indication that it was not of long standing.

Dealtry's preaching had, as usual, aroused prejudice and the friends were shut out of any public building and private house. It had been decided to licence a house and build a chapel. The foundation stone²⁵⁶ of a building forty eight feet by thirty was laid in September. In November the vestry of the chapel was opened for worship. There had been difficulties, the society being small and poor and the authorities and inhabitants generally being opposed. Mr Fryar [Friar] leader of the small 'Home Missionary', who had reportedly 'embraced the truth...entire', baptized four. His relation to Brother Bosworthick who was 'rendering what assistance he' could, is not clear. It is possible the Millerites preferred that someone in ministerial office should perform baptism. There is a parallel case in Leeds. By March 1847 Micklewood needed to spend three or four weeks in Truro 'to build up the desolation there'.²⁵⁷ His success, if any, was only temporary.

Winter visited Uckfield in 1843 and again in late 1845. As the news of his mission spread, accommodation in Uckfield and the preaching was moved to Piltdown, two miles distant. Despite the January cold, large and enthusiastic congregations assembled, walking as far as six to ten miles from their homes. 'Confessions of faith and immersion in the pond, where the ice had frequently to be broken, were the order of the day.' Paul, a singer of the gospel, joined

255. AH, 26 Aug.1846,p.21; AH, 10 Mar.1847,p.37;

256. EAH, 10 Oct.1846,p.32.

257. EAH, 23 Dec.1846,p.45; 1 April 1847,p.63; no further details have been found of Friar or Bosworthick, AH, 17 Mar.1847,p.48; 1 May, p.101.

Winter early in the mission.

A chapel seating over two hundred was formally opened by Himes on 9 July 1846.²⁵⁹ It was located in an eligible place at the centre of a large open common and was well filled, with all seats let. The congregation were mainly poor, drawn from converted sinners, not just good church goers. A necromancer was so affected that he burned his curious books.²⁶⁰ By August 207 had been baptized and four months later the chapel was too small. Winter held meetings every evening in the surrounding villages.²⁶¹

The two weeks of preaching or lecturing under the gas lamp opposite the Corn Exchange in Wakefield by Micklewood and another attracted a great crowd when the Rev. Mr Harvey of Preston engaged in the discussion. The crowd wished for further debate, but Mr Harvey had other appointments. There was no trace of a Millerite cause by 1850.

258. Johnson, Advent Christian History, p.551, gives the date 1845. This agrees with The Centenary of Mount House Chapel (Church of Christ) 1846-1946 (np, nd), which states, 'toward the end of 1845'; Himes says the cause was started by Winter and Tanner early in 1846, lecturing in assembly rooms, then in neighbouring villages in public rooms, barns and open field, AH, 2 Sept.1846,p.29. Another account is given by J.Comley Page, 'Letter from England', The World's Crisis, 49 (1903),4-5. He gives 1864 as the date for Winter's work, a slip of the pen, but adds an interesting detail that 'some are living today who bless God for the solemn glorious news from the lips of R.Winter'.
259. Johnson, Advent Christian History,p.551; EAH, 1 July 1846, p.8; AH, 26 June 1852,p.206. Winter was asked to arrange meetings in the vicinity during the opening week; compare EAH, 1 Sept.1846,p.22; another account says Whit Sunday 1846, while there were no windows or seats in the chapel, Mount House Chapel, np.
260. AH, 2 Sept.1846,p.29; '..the reputed spot where Simon Montfort routed his army before the battle of Lewes - and at the time of the erection of "Mount House" there were scarcely any dwellings in view', Mount House Chapel, np.
261. EAH, 23 Dec.1846,p.48. In 1853 members were attending from a distance of six, even nine miles, Brit.Mill.Harb., Mar.1853, p.142; the chapel record, now missing, record baptism as follows: 18 Jan. 1846 - 17; 1 Feb.1846 - 41; 22 Mar.1846 - 40; 7 June 1846 - 212, Mount House Chapel, np; 'Letter from England', p.5, gives Varley.

Mormons found Wakefield difficult and unfriendly.

In 1843 Paul was 'doing a little in Dublin', and visited his native Londonderry in 1846. Winter's Irish correspondents suggested that the midnight cry had gone to a great part of the country. In Dublin the preachers and people seemed to delight in the idea of the world's conversion.²⁶³ Himes visited Belfast at the request of an Irish emigrant and spoke in the Presbyterian church of Isaac Nelson whom he had met at the Evangelical Alliance. There were many invitations and he was requested to give a full course of lectures, yet the clergy were unable to allow non-members into their pulpits. A Quaker stated that he could have sold fifty of Himes's charts. The religious state of Ireland was discussed in the Herald. Brown stopped briefly in Belfast and Dublin en route from Glasgow to Liverpool.²⁶⁴

Where the subsequent history of a cause mentioned above can be traced, this is taken up in Chapter X.

11. The Geography of Millerism

The geographical distribution of a religious group depends on a number of factors, some complex and all interreacting. The area where a mission began may remain very important, and some movements, for example the Bryanites, the Cokelers, and the Peculiar People, never developed outside very restricted locations.²⁶⁵ The Christadelphians found great

262. Leeds Times, 30 Mar.1844,p.8; SAH, 16 April 1844,p.40; 30 April, p.55; MC, 25 July 1844,p.14; AH, 25 May 1850,p.134; LDSMS, 1 (1840),38

263. ST, 18 Oct.1843,p.66; MC, 2 Nov.1843,p.3; AH, 9 Sept.1846,p.40; 16 Sept.,p.44.

264. AH, 16 Dec.1846,p.149; 20 Jan.1847,p.189; 17 April,p.93; EAH, 20 Nov.1846,p.37.

265. Mark Sorrell, The Peculiar People (Exeter, 1979); Roger Homan, 'The Society of Dependents: A Case Study in the Rise and Fall of Rural Peculiars', Sussex Archaeological Collections, 119 (1981), 195-204.

strength in Birmingham, their publishing centre. The varying strength of the bond of social control exercised by squire and parson, occupation, high or low level unemployment, status satisfaction, and perceived needs may all play a part in a decision to join a particular religious or other grouping. The work of Alan Everitt and Hugh McLeod has taught us that each area has to be studied in detail if all the factors are to be considered, much less apportioned their share of influence in the growth of any particular religious phenomenon. ²⁶⁶

Using the 1851 Religious Census, John D. Gay has prepared maps showing the membership distribution of a number of religious bodies. By this date the Millerite movement in Britain was in deep decline, and any significant maps of Millerite activity would be of an earlier period. ²⁶⁷

All Millerite congregations were urban except Piltdown. W. R. Ward notes that parts of Sussex, Middlesex, Surrey, and Kent were the home of tithes in kind, and that attendance at the Established Church in Sussex was significantly lower than in some other counties, for example, Bedfordshire. Sussex also showed a rather low level of Nonconformist commitment. ²⁶⁸ The Millerites met a need in 1846 and started a cause that would last, in various guises, for a century. There was a considerable amount of rural preaching by the Millerites between 1843 and 1845, but only in East Anglia and possibly Piltdown did they stay for more than a passing visit. Strong local leadership, in the absence of settled pastorate, was essential to the survival of a cause.

266. Alan Everitt, The Pattern of Rural Dissent, pp.10,44-45; Hugh McCleod, 'Class, Community and Region. The Religious Geography of Nineteenth Century England', A Sociological Yearbook of Religion in England, sixth edition, edited by Michael Hill (1973), pp.29-72.
267. John D. Gay, The Geography of Religion in England (1971), pp.266-69,282-83,288-89.
268. 'The Tithe Question in England in the Early Nineteenth Century', JEH, 16(1965), 67-81.

The religious profiles of Exeter, Plymouth, and Tiverton varied significantly in 1851. The index of attendance at the Church of England in Exeter was almost double the national average and Tiverton was significantly higher, while Plymouth was below. Methodist and Baptist attendance was remarkably weaker in Plymouth than the other two places. Only in Independent attendance did Plymouth come mid-way between Tiverton with the highest figure and Exeter. In every index Plymouth²⁶⁹ was below the average for England and Wales.

The list of places at the end of this chapter indicates where Millerites had a group of believers, or at least visited.

12. Numbers

How many joined the Millerites? As no records of nationwide membership have been preserved, and were probably never made, the sources of information are numbers of baptisms noted, the size of known congregations, and secondary references, the historical accuracy of which cannot be traced.²⁷⁰

Baptisms listed in Millerite papers	1,569
Reportedly baptized by R. Winter	7,000
Reportedly baptized by E. Micklewood	1,700

269. B.I.Coleman, 'Religious Worship in Devon in 1851', Devon Historian, 18 (1979), 3-7 (p.4).

270. Nottingham Journal, 21 June 1844,p.3; 5 July,p.3; MCN, 6 July, p.24; 3 Aug.,p.48; 10 Aug.,p.56; 31 Aug.,p.80; MC, 28 Nov.1844,p.170; VTGT, 3 Dec.1845,p.545; 6 May 1846,p.45; Western Times, 27 Sept.1845,p.3; AH, 26 Nov.1845,p.127; 2 Sept.1846,p.29; 30 Sept.,p.61; 14 Oct.,p.77; 25 Nov.,p.125; 9 Dec.,p.141; 16 Dec.,p.149; 3 Mar.1847,p.24; 30 Oct.,p.103; EAH, 1 July 1846,p.7, 20 Nov.,p.40; 23 Dec.,pp.44,45,48; 1 July 1847,p.80; Plymouth DWJ, 26 Oct.1848,p.3; thirty-six baptisms by Bonham in 1850, not reckoned in totals above, AH, 20 April 1850,p.94; 26 Oct.,p.310; Lambeth MS, p.2; Wellcome,p.536.

These figures cannot be taken as cumulative. Although the present writer has taken care to avoid obvious duplication of baptismal statistics in journals, the records are too imprecise to ensure accuracy. Some baptisms are mentioned without numbers of candidates. The very high figure for Winter may depend on a later memory, and will probably include numbers in East Anglia who seem to have disappeared quite early from Millerite ranks. The total attributed to Micklewood certainly includes some baptisms listed in Millerite papers. Billington estimates there were between 2,000 to 3,000 adherents. The turnover in membership was probably quite high, as was noted earlier, and as would
271
be expected by an analogy with other similar bodies.

271. Billington, 'Millerite Adventists', p.208; Gilbert, Religion and Society, p.179.

13. List of Places

Note: * known group of believers
 ** own chapel, hired or built

	Arundel	1844
	Ashbourne	1844
	Barnstaple	1844
	Barrhead	1846
	Bath	1847
	Belfast	1843, 1846
	Berrow, Som.	1844
	Bingham, Notts.	1844
**	Birmingham	1846, 1847
	Bishop's Stortford	1846
	Bognor	1844
	Bradford	1844
*	Brighton	1844, 1845, 1850
**	Bristol	1844, 1846, 1847
	Bromborough, Ches.	1850
	Burnham, Som.	1844
	Carlisle	1844
	Carlton, Notts.	1844
	Chichester	1844
	Chisleborough	1847
	Crewkerne	1844
**	Derby	1844, 1846
	Dorrington, Salop	1846
	Dorset	1847
	Dublin	1843, 1846
	East Dereham	1844
	Edinburgh	1846, 1847
	Evesham	1847
**	Exeter	1845, 1846, 1850, 1851
	Fareham	1854
	Galashiels	1847
	Gloucestershire	1844
	Goole	1844
	Gosport	1844
	Havant	1844
	Hawick	1846
*	Henley-on-Thames	1846
	Hereford	1846
	Hertford	1846
	Hull	1844
	Ireland	1843, 1846
	Isle of Man	1844
	Isle of Wight	1844
	Jedburgh	1846, 1847
	Kendal	1844
	King's Lynn	1843
	Knottingley	1844
	Lancashire	1844
	Lancaster	1844
	Langport, Som.	1844
	Ledbury, Herefs.	1847

**	Leeds	1844, 1847, 1849, 1850, 1851, 1862
	Leigh, Dorset	1844
	Lewes	1844, 1846
**	Liverpool	1844, 1846, 1847, 1850, 1851, 1863
**	London	1843, 1846
	Loughborough	1844
	Lowestoft	1844
	Ludlow	1846, 1847, 1851
*?	Luton	1844, 1845, 1848
	Lynwood	1846
	Macclesfield	1844
	Maidenhead	1846, 1847
	Manchester	1844
	Martock, Som.	1847
	Middleton, Nr. Leeds	1847
	Neston, Ches.	1850
	Newcastle on Tyne	1844
	Nielston	1846
	Norfolk and Suffolk	1843, 1844
	Norwich	1844, 1845
**	Nottingham	1844, 1845, 1847
	Paisley	1846
**	Piltdown	1846 on
**	Plymouth	1846, 1848, 1850
	Portsmouth	1844
	Puddington, Ches.	1850
	Ruddington, Notts.	1844
	Selby	1850
	Sheffield	1844, 1847
	Sidmouth	1847
	Stockport	1844
	Stoke-Sub-Hamdon, Som.	1844
	Taunton	1847
	Tavistock	1847
	Tiverton	1845, 1847
**	Truro	1846, 1847
**	Uckfield, see Piltdown	1846 on
	Wakefield	1844, 1850
	Wallingford	1846
	Watford	1845
	West Bromwich	1846
	West Coker, Nr. Yeovil	1847
	Westminster	1843
	Weston-super-Mare	1844
	Winchcombe	1847
	Wortley	1850
	Wycombe	1844
	Yeovil	1844

CHAPTER V

METHODS

1. Preaching and Travelling

William Burgess, impelled by the urgency of the Millerite message, felt he was able to do more good by travelling than by staying in one place. Micklewood apologized that it was only his poor health which made him accept a settled pastorate in Plymouth. The cry was to get ready, not to set up separate congregations, although this¹ sometimes happened in 1844 as has been noted above.

After October 1844 there was a change in American Millerism. Although there had been a call for separation in 1843, little had been done to pastor the congregations. The Albany conference recognized that the movement would collapse without spiritual oversight, especially when the stimulus of a definite date for the advent had been removed. The movement passed from revival to sect and in the² case of the Albany group, towards a denomination.

Himes noted that Burgess, Dealtry and Micklewood had 'scattered the seed profusely, but as few had appeared to water it...the results of their arduous task are not so visible'. Shortage of time haunted Himes in his British itinerary. A large congregation could have been gathered at Derby 'if we could but make a stand here'. Hutchinson's visit to Barrhead had led the people to search their Bibles, now a second course of lectures was needed to 'establish those who are wavering in the matter'. Otherwise his faithful efforts would be lost by not being followed up. Burgess settled in Plymouth, but

1. VTGT, 3 Dec 1845, p.545.

2. Billington, 'Millerite Adventists', p.211.

Bonham continued to travel in 1847 and 1848.

The Millerites preached where they could, sometimes hiring halls, in a chapel where possible, and in the open air. Hand bills, tracts, and the 'bellman' were used to draw crowds. The American connection of some of the preachers was sometimes mentioned in publicity, recognizing the interest in American religious techniques. Even the most hostile sources agreed that large numbers attended and listened. A crowd of 7,000 listened in the Norwich bazaar, and there were full houses at the Lowestoft theatre and the Guildhall, Yarmouth. Bonham received the 'most profound attention' as he preached in the open air in Somerset.⁴ Up to fourteen camp meetings were held in 1843 and 1844, but seem to have been discontinued after the October disappointment, probably because of a loss of drive. It is not clear if these camp meetings continued for some days or were like the all-day 'jubilee meetings' held in May near Yeovil and Gloucester.⁵

The three missionaries from America took part in the meeting of the Evangelical Alliance and made friends. Himes attended the World Temperance Convention. He had several times spoken on temperance as it was 'a good way to introduce ourselves and the great cause we advocate'. Most of the preaching in London by Himes and his

3. AH, 12 Aug.1846, p.5; 18 Nov.1846, p.117; 8 July 1848,p.184; VTGT, 3 Dec.1845, p.545; EAH, 1 July 1847, p.79.
4. MC, 8 Feb.1844, p.219; AH, 3 July 1847, p.175; EAH, 1 July 1847, p.79; for other examples of open air preaching, SAH, 30 April 1844, p.55; AH, 28 Feb.1844, p.27; MCN, 6 July,p.24; Bonham preached in a barn, EAH, 1 April 1847, p.80; for open air meetings held by other groups, Gospel Banner, 3 (1850),190; Home Missionary Magazine, NS 4 (1844),240-41; for tent preaching, ibid., NS 2 (1842),36; on the use of the bellman to announce meetings, Ambassador, 3 (1866), 163; MC, 29 Feb.1844,p.251; AH, 3 July 1847, p.175; Carwardine, p.67.
5. MC, 28 Nov.1844, p.170; SAH, 7 May 1844, p.64; the last meeting advertized was in Nottingham Forest for 15 Sept.1844, MCN, 7 Sept. 1844, p.88.

associates was in Temperance Halls. Himes also lectured on popery, a certain topic to draw a crowd. The questions following one lecture on temperance turned into an attack on Rome.⁶

While in Britain Himes, Brown and Hutchinson identified themselves with the anti-slavery cause in which Himes had been prominent in America. He introduced a black minister of the African Episcopal Church at the meeting of the Evangelical Alliance, and seconded a motion that no slave-holder be eligible for membership. In justifying his position he wrote, 'as an Adventist, believing that the great system of iniquity will continue, in some form, to the end of the world, yet with this faith, I am bound to protest and expose sin in all its manifestation, just as though I believed in the world's continuance'. Hutchinson attended a meeting taken by William Lloyd Garrison and Frederick Douglass in Edinburgh. He had earlier been invited to speak on slavery after attending the opening of a Baptist chapel in Birmingham.⁷

Perhaps mindful of an episode in Miller's life, Hutchinson visited a phrenologist's lecture and after being 'read', announced that those who wished to know who he was should come to his lectures. Infidels were welcome. He explained the scriptures in private houses, though only when invited, finding it greatly assisted his public work. In his eight weeks in Scotland he preached on average once a day and conversed with many. William Priest of Birmingham read the

6. AH, 16 Sept.1846, p.44; 11 Nov.1846, p.109.

7. AH, 30 Sept.1846,p.61; 21 Oct.,p.85; EAH, 10 Oct.1846, p.29; AH, 9 Dec.1846, p.141; a number of prominent Millerites, including Himes, had a background of anti-slavery activity. Ellen G.White was among the Seventh-day Adventists who were strong abolitionists, and urged disobedience to the Fugitive Slave Act, Testimonies for the Church, 9 vols (Mountain View, CA,1942), I, 201-02; AH, 25 Nov. 1846, p.125.

Voice of Elijah and Midnight Cry anywhere he could obtain for the purpose. This sounds dull evangelism, but was evidently effective, since in that way 'many a poor sinner has been warned'.⁸

The greatest novelty in the manner as opposed to the content of Millerite presentations was the use of charts illustrating the main prophetic periods with ugly apocalyptic beasts. Winter used to set up his chart on a pole in the street and so draw a crowd. Dealtry, always the showman, had his specially made version, eight foot by nine. Smaller, more portable charts might be used as a conversation piece. Both Micklewood and Winter prepared chronological charts which were sold in book shops. Harrison remarks that the Millerites were pioneers in the use of visual aids. Other students of prophecy had made chronological charts and diagrams but these appeared in books and required close study. The Millerite charts were used to illustrate the preaching, not as a Christadelphian speaker's banner twenty years later 'for the purpose of distinguishing his outdoor efforts from the common outpourings of street preachers'.⁹

Some of the British Millerites challenged ministers of other churches to public debate, but found few acceptances. Mormons debated when they could, and so did the Christadelphians when they felt they

8. AH, 4 Nov.1846,p.101; 9 Dec.,p.141; MC, 11 July 1844, p.415; a train journey provided a chance for a conversation, AH, 30 Dec. 1846, p.165
9. MC, 18 May 1843,p.65; Barker, MC, 16 May 1844, p.351; AHMA, 18 Sept.1844, p.32; 30 Nov.,p.80; EAH, 1 Sept.1846, p.24; the 'most extraordinary pictures and diagrams, of rams with immense horns, lions, calves and flying eagles, are more in the professed way of illustration, displayed', Trewman's Exeter FP, 11 Sept. 1845,p.3, on Dealtry and Burgess; AH, 4 Feb.1846, p.205; 15 July, p.181; 14 Oct.,p.77; Damsteegt, p.310, reproduces the chart; Millerites saw the chart as a fulfilment of Habakkuk 2.2, PFF, IV, 719-37; White, Great Controversy, p.392; Ambassador, 1 (1864), 32; Harrison, Second Coming, p.201.

had men able to hold their own in public and could find opponents.

The visiting three from America emphasized common ground wherever possible. On board ship Brown left some charts on display, explaining that Himes was the author. Himes was not a Mormon, as some supposed. To understand his views one should read the book by Birks, whose degrees and qualifications were well known. Himes would appear¹¹ to be in good company.

2. Magazines and Tracts

Literature was mailed to friends, the clergy thought to be sympathetic to premillennialist views, or sent ahead of an evangelist to prepare his way. Tracts were distributed door to door or given away in the streets. John Kitchen, a Reading grocer, kept a supply of tracts in his counting house. Millerites were inclined to be optimistic about the effects of their literature. The Christadelphians, working twenty years later, were doubtful of the¹² effect of their own efforts.

The 'Advent testimony' was placed in Holyrood House as Hutchinson left books and papers with those in charge. At Edinburgh Castle they also seemed glad for the tracts and promised to peruse them. Himes had left some of the Millerite 'light' with lighthouse keepers at

10. MCN, 6 July, p.24; 3 Aug., p.48; 31 Aug., p.80; Gloucester Journal, 31 Aug.1844, p.3; Ambassador, 3 (1866), 79-80.
11. AH, 13 July 1846, p.181; compare MW, 13 Feb.1845, p.49, and Burgess, A Discourse 'on the Kingdom of God' (Devonport, 1848), preface.
12. Several ministers had seen L.D.Fleming's Midnight Cry, and one had ordered copies for distribution to other ministers, ST, 25 Oct.1843, p.77; AH, 2 Sept.1846, p.29; MC, 28 Oct.1844, p.170; Himes spoke of Dealtry's 'flaming hand bill', AH, 12 Aug.1846, p.5; FFBJ, 23 Mar.1844, p.3; AH, 26 Aug.1846, p.21; 4 Nov., p.101; the Christadelphians found 'little effect' from tract distribution at Berwick, Ambassador, 1 (1864), 16.

Plymouth. The Tanner sisters gave out 1,700 tracts, probably printed at their own expense, in the Ludlow area. Elizabeth followed up
¹³
 with cottage meetings.

The British Millerites, although doing some printing in Britain, were always grateful for American supplies. Winter and Bonham received further consignments from America when the stocks they had brought with them were exhausted. Mrs Lloyd gratefully acknowledged a box of books, the expenses on which amounted to nine guineas, no small sum for a tailor's wife. Winter found himself unable to accept the parcel of books that attracted a duty of twenty-six shillings, because it contained a portrait of William Miller. Himes noted the
¹⁴
 thoroughness of British Customs officers. He had sent three thousand dollars' worth of literature before his 1846 visit and presumably brought further supplies with him. Hutchinson had sent 'large supplies' of his Voice of Elijah to his native Yorkshire and elsewhere. The American periodicals were highly prized by the British brethren, and even in 1850 Bonham was receiving supplies. By 1847, with a shortage of preachers, literature seemed almost the only
¹⁵
 resource left to the Millerites.

For a movement of small numbers and limited means, the Millerites in Britain produced and distributed a surprising amount of

13. AH, 25 Nov.1846, p.125; also at Sir Walter Scott's mansion, AH, 9 Dec.1846, p.141; 19 Aug.,p.12; EAH, 23 Dec.1846, p.48; AH, 10 Feb.1847,p.5.
14. MC, 2 Nov.1843, p.93; 25 Jan.1844, p.211; 17 July,p.186; 28 Nov.,p.170; AH, 14 Feb.1844,p.11; 22 July 1846,p.188.
15. AH, 29 July 1846, p.199; Winter wrote in 1844 of papers sent by Hutchinson to Yorkshire, AH, 24 April 1844, p.95; Priest had just received fifty copies to send to preachers in the West Midlands, MC, 11 July 1844, p.415; AH, 28 Oct.1846, p.93; 20 May 1850, p.94; in 1846, the British were looking anxiously for a supply of publications by the next steamer. Curry and his friends had given away the earlier supply sent by Himes, AH, 2 Sept.1846, p.30.

literature. The earliest reference to publishing is Winter's letter of December 1842. He had distributed several papers since coming to London, producing a good effect and finding a great demand for them. He was republishing two tracts, and hoped to print some of the large books as soon as he could raise the means.¹⁶ By April 1843 he had a press in London supplying different book sellers. He had printed 15,000 tracts in five titles, besides many others, quantity unmentioned,¹⁷ extracted from the Signs.

A year later Winter wrote listing five titles and a total of 55,000 pieces. Another report by Winter listed seven titles, totaling 62,000 pieces. Summarizing progress to the end of May 1844, Winter reported that they had 'printed more than 100,000 publications of various kinds in Bristol in less than three months, and have scattered them profusely through the length and breadth of this land'.¹⁸ By the autumn the total was 150,000.

There were other printings of Millerite pamphlets after 1844. 20,000 copies of the Voice of Warning were printed in October 1845. This had proved a favourite in earlier years, 17,000 having been dis-

16. ST, 1 Feb. 1843, p.158. The tracts were Lewis Hersey, A Clue to the Time, and Charles Fitch, Reasons for believing the coming of Christ in 1843. Neither work is known to be extant, so date and place are lacking; Hersey's writings were extensively circulated in England, in 1843/44, AH, 26 Jan. 1850, p.206.
17. Millers, Lectures - 2,000, Fleming's Midnight Cry - 2,000, Clue to the Time - 6,000, Fitch, Reasons - 2,000, Evidence of Christ's Coming - 3,000, MC, 18 May 1843, p.65.
18. Second Advent Harbinger - 16,000, Voice of Warning - 17,000, Second Advent Messenger - 8,000, Last Warning - 4,000, End of World - 10,000, letter of 22 April 1844 in AH, 5 June 1844, p.142; Voice of Warning in 3 nos. - 27,000, Second Advent Messenger - 8,000, Last Warning - 4,000, Synopsis of Miller's views - 1,000, Voice of Alarm - 5,000, Word of Warning - 4,000, Second Advent Harbinger - 13,000 in 6 nos, SAH, 23 April 1844, p.48. The two lists given in this note are overlapping, but not easily reconcilable; SAH, 4 June 1844, p.89; AHMA, 9 Oct. 1844, p.56; 7 Nov., p.64.

tributed by early 1844. Dealtry had some thousands of tracts printed¹⁹ and Himes received samples.

The titles of the books and tracts distributed and printed in Britain are mainly of American origin, where they can be traced. As there are very few extant examples of American works reprinted in Britain, it is impossible to tell how much re-editing occurred. The analogy of the known reprints and the periodicals suggests that²⁰ material was taken over with very little adaptation.

It is impossible accurately to assess the number of Millerite periodicals, tracts and books, as the totals listed are not cumulative. Himes's three thousand dollars could have bought 50,000 threepenny tracts. If this figure is added to the 150,000, plus earlier imports sent by supporters in America, later reprints and titles after 1844, a total of 250,000 items in Britain seems reasonable. Some works have survived in title only.

There are scattered references to other periodical publications, apart from those already traced and listed. Gunner referred to the Jubilee Trumpet, a new book, 2,000 copies of which he was printing, and a larger work, The Watchman's Alarm, or Millennial Crisis. He gave no²¹ hint of provenance or authorship.

Winter's Bible Examiner, otherwise unknown, was quoted in an 1850

19. VTGT, 3 Dec.1845,p.545; MC, 8 Feb.1844, p.219; SAH, 30 April 1844, p.55; 9 Sept.1846, p.40; Dealtry to Himes, 29 Oct.1845, Wellcome, p.539; EAH, 23 Dec.1846,p.48.
20. Hutchinson, The Abrahamic Inheritance; Henry Jones, Modern Phenomena of the Heavens (New York,1843), reprinted by W.C.Burgess (Exeter, 1847); Winter mentions items 'extracted from the Signs', MC,18 May 1843,p.65. The very brief titles given to some of the works in Britain make them hard to trace.
21. MC, 13 June 1844, p.384. Two periodicals named Jubilee Trumpet are listed in Gaustad, p.311, L.Caldwell, editor (Cincinnati, 1843), S.S.Snow, editor (New York, 1843?); there were at least four American Adventist periodicals incorporating the word Jubilee. The Watchman has not been identified.

work. There may be evidence here of Winter re-issuing an American periodical under his own name, but the reference is not conclusive. The Second Advent Harbinger and Expositor of Prophecy, advertized from 1846 on, clearly seems a variant of Winter's Harbinger, perhaps a reprinting,²² or a bound edition of the two volumes with a different title.

R.W.Vanderkiste printed The Prophetic Register in 1844 'a large-sized magazine of 24 papers' to bring before the public 'the most important portions of celebrated writings of eminent theologians in all ages, on the prophecies of the Word of God, that the judgments of all who feel interested in what...[God] hath spoken may be assisted and their spiritual health ministered unto'. An article by the Millerite Josiah Litch was published and Burgess found the paper valuable for his mission. There were at least two issues. The Register was promoted in²³ Millerite papers.

For some American works an incidental reference is the only key to its having reached England. There are 129 titles of periodicals, tracts, and books, either by Millerites or authors thought by Millerites to be sympathetic to their cause. This list excludes the English 'Literalists' whose works were sometimes advertized by British Millerites, mainly after 1844. Of these titles, ninety-three were of American

22. An Adventist, The Importance of the Doctrine of the First Resurrection and Second Coming (Grimsby, 1850), p.5; The Bible Examiner may have been G.Storrs's Philadelphia and New York paper of that name which ran 1843-53, Gaustad, p.307; EAH, 1 July 1846, p.8.
23. See Chapter IV for Vanderkiste's Millerite career. He wrote Notes and Narrative of a Six Years' Mission, principally among the dens of London (1852); the records of the London City Mission do not reveal any trace of the Prophetic Register, letter to writer from Rev. Duncan M.Whyte, Secretary, London City Mission, 15 Aug.1880; SAH, 30 April 1844, p.55; AH, 19 Aug.1846, p.13; 21 Oct., p.85.

24
origin.

The first British Millerite periodical recorded was Charles Dealtry's eight-page Midnight Cry published in Liverpool probably beginning about January 1844. The Midnight Cry of New York published extracts from the first number, including the statement: 'contrary to the general custom, we send this paper forth without much being said by way of introduction or preface'. There were two calls: to the Impenitent Reader and the Distressed Sinner. Funds were requested for publishing, and there were extracts from L.D.Fleming's Brief History of
25
that Old Serpent.

There is no indication of how long Dealtry's Liverpool Cry ran. It was succeeded by a namesake published in Nottingham by Dealtry and Micklewood beginning 22 June 1844. By giving only the Fundamental Principles of the cause, without introduction, the paper may appear as the organ of an established cause, not a pioneering venture. On the other hand, there is no mention of a predecessor. The Nottingham Midnight Cry ran twelve numbers to 14 September 1844. Micklewood revived the title in 1846, with runs of 1,000, and edited it together with
26
his Plymouth pastorate.

Winter and Gunner, who always appear in that order as editors and publishers, commenced the eight octavo page Second Advent Harbinger at

24. See asterisked titles in Bibliography. The figures are approximate because of the difficulty of distinguishing between variant titles and separate publications.
25. MC, 12 Feb.1844, p.244. No issues of the Liverpool paper have been located. A starting date of January 1844 presupposes that Dealtry was eager to mention his paper and allows time for the normal Atlantic crossing. E.Micklewood's letter from Nottingham, dated 27 June, sent with the first issue of the MCN, was printed in MC, 2 July 1844, p.14; Lorenzo Dow (evocative names!) Fleming, three titles in Gaustad, pp.223-24, but not including Brief History.
26. The first issue of the Signs scorned a preamble, ST, 20 Mar.1840, p.1; AH, 12 Aug.1846, p.5.

Bristol in March 1844. The first volume closed 4 June 1844, after twelve weekly issues, using the same printer. In closing this volume, Winter announced that the second volume would start the following week. In fact, the first number of what had been renamed Advent Harbinger and Midnight Alarm did not appear until August, published at Maidenhead, and with only Winter as editor. After three issues, Winter switched the printing to Bermondsey, and from number eight on to Bristol. The increasingly irregular dates of issue probably indicate the difficulties²⁷ of the cause.

Winter stated that six issues of the Harbinger amounted to between 13,000 and 16,000 papers. This would indicate between 2,666 and 2,166 copies per issue. Gunner stated the circulation at 1,000 to 2,000. Possibly the circulation had declined by the time Gunner wrote. No circulation figures are available for the Midnight Cry of Liverpool or Nottingham. A figure of between 1,000 and 2,000 seems realistic for the Harbinger and the Midnight Cry, and is similar to that for other magazines of the same type.²⁸

The Harbinger and Midnight Cry, Nottingham, foundered for lack of support. At a time of earlier prosperity, closing the first volume of

27. The first two pages of the SAH are missing, but as the paper was published regularly, the date of the first issue is probably 19 March; circulation 1000 - 2000 weekly, MC, 13 June 1844, p.384; Wellcome, p.536, incorrectly gives Winter and Bonham as publishers; the first two pages of the only known copy of the first issue of the AHMA are missing. It is likely to have been dated Wednesday, 14 or 21 Aug. Known dates of issue are 28 Aug. (No.2), 11 Sept. (No.3), and weekly to 9 Oct. (No.7). After 9 Oct. there was a change of printer, and day of issue; (Monday), 21 Oct. (No.8), Thursday, 7 Nov. (No.9), 21 Nov., Saturday, 30 Nov., Thursday, 9 Jan.1845 (Nos.10-12).
28. AH, 5 June 1844, p.142; SAH, 23 April 1844, p.48; MC, 13 June 1844, p.384; David King wrote that the Bible Advocate would close if he could not receive promise of support equal to an increase of 300 copies per month. He was appealing to a membership of 2,000-3,000, Bible Advocate, 3 (1849), 263-64.

the Harbinger in June 1844, Winter noted that

When it was commenced it was without a single subscriber, without funds and 'almost without friends. The cause it advocated was unpopular, and whoever looked towards it was regarded as insane and fanatical by almost the whole community. There was scarcely a periodical in this country, either religious or secular, that would so much as inform the public of the existence of such a publication...

Now the position had changed with 'abundant evidence from different testimonies that our labour had not been altogether in vain in the Lord'. The financial problem had been cared for as 'God has raised up several friends of late to assist in the defence and support of the
29
Second Advent cause'.

Although the stated price of the Harbinger was one penny, Winter noted that the people were 'very poor and unable to purchase much, so we
30
give away'. The Midnight Cry, Nottingham, started out at one penny, but after the seventh issue, 10 August, ceased to mention a figure. With No.8 came a call to distribute, or cause to be distributed, as many copies as possible as time was short. Perhaps circulation was
31
falling.

Despite free distribution, Winter had a large quantity of the earlier numbers of the Harbinger on hand by June 1844, so friends could have as many of them as they wished to send for. This suggests far less interest than Winter had spoken of in 1842 and 1843, when the people 'almost devoured' the papers. There were probably still stocks of the
32
Harbinger left in 1847, and possibly 1851. The note closing the second volume of the Harbinger, January 1845, announced cessation and

29. SAH, 4 June 1844, p.89.

30. SAH, 9 April 1844, p.25; readers were invited to send a stamp and address for free copies, 23 April 1844, p.41; MC, 3 Nov.1843, p.93.

31. MCN, 10 Aug p.49; 17 Aug., p.58.

32. SAH, 4 June 1844, p.89; ST, 1 Feb.1843, p.158; references under Second Advent Harbinger in Bibliography; EAH, 1 Sept.1846, p.24.

stated that 'It had been hoped that a subject so important, and founded upon evidences so clear and...' Here the last page is tantalizingly missing, but the drift is clear. The Harbinger was not paying its way³³ and the friends of the cause could no longer sustain it.

The final issue of the Nottingham Midnight Cry noted that hitherto by far the greater part of the paper had been distributed gratis. Now funds had run out and 'unless friends of the cause make extra effort, we must cease to publish for the present'. The editors ended with an appeal, which to judge from the absence of any further issues, went unheeded. 'Let our friends not slack their efforts now. These papers have done much good, and many persons are crying out for them. Shall the Press or the truth stay for want of support? You, my dear friends, are stewards of God's property. Ask yourself, what can I do?'³⁴ Financial problems were not peculiar to Millerite publications as evidenced by the short life of many.³⁵ The Midnight Cry closed in mid-September before the expected October development. The Harbinger limped on until the New Year. These facts suggest that British Millerite activity did not rise to a crescendo in October 1844. British Millerism may, on the literary evidence, have been running out of momentum before October 1844, and the renewed expectation of the advent in 1845 failed to keep a periodical in being.

The publishing history of the European Advent Herald illustrates the difficulties of the whole movement. The paper was started by Himes on his English mission, as a fortnightly or monthly. The first issue was to number 5,000, not as large as Himes's hope for the present, nor his anticipations of the future. The second number came out six weeks

33. AHMA, 19 Jan.1845, pp.87-88.

34. MCN, 14 Sept.,p.96.

35. Bible Advocate, 1 (1847). 266.

later under a different printer. Himes then hoped the paper could be a
³⁶monthly. W.Strange, of Paternoster Row, was engaged to publish
 Second Advent works, and these were to be obtainable through any book
 seller. Every believer should take at least one copy. Secondly, every
 believer should obtain another subscriber. Free copies would be given
 to those who wanted sample copies to attract subscriptions. If this
 plan were heartily undertaken the price of the Herald could be halved,
 and the circulation increased four or tenfold. Significantly, the price
 never was reduced. An issue cost eight pounds, and at twelve shillings
 and six pence a hundred from the printer, this meant a run of nearly
 1,300. In November the paper first carried names of editors, with
 Hutchinson and Micklewood as assistants to Himes. There was a gap of
 thirteen and a half weeks between numbers six and eight. Numbers seven
 and nine are missing. Number ten followed after nine months, and urged
 support of the paper. To one disappointed reader it had apparently
 already discontinued. Number eleven was issued in June 1848 and was
 reduced to four pages instead of the earlier eight. No further issue
³⁷was planned unless it should be required.

Hutchinson returned to North America and Micklewood also dropped
 out of the editorship so that Bonham, although nominally assisting
 Himes, was left in charge for the eleventh and any subsequent numbers.
 He stated that there were various reasons for the irregular appearance
 of the paper, the principle being 'the want of funds through the absence
 of unity among the brethren'. Although unspecified, this absence of

36. EAH, 1 July 1846, p.8; 13 Aug., p.16; AH, 5 Aug.1846, p.205.

37. EAH, 10 Oct.1846, p.32; 1 July 1847, p.77; the known run of the
EAH, is 1 July, 13 August, 1 September, 10 October, 20
 November, 23 December, 1846, No.7 missing, 1 April, 1847, No.9
 missing, 1 July, 1847, 12 June, 1848; AH, 27 Nov.1847,
 p.135; 8 July 1848, p.184.

unity was applicable both to America and Britain.

Some indication of the spread of Millerite influence may be gathered from the centres from which the papers could be purchased. In some cases the names and addresses of the agents are of known Millerite sympathizers; in other cases, all that is known from the Millerite point of view is the existence of the agency, either from sympathy with the cause, or in the course of the booksellers' trade. The Harbinger operated out of the house of the Tanner family in Bristol. The sixth and subsequent issues were available from the Lloyds's in Bermondsey and from Liverpool. The second volume was, with slight variations, available from Liverpool, Bermondsey, Bristol, High Wycombe, Maidenhead, Reading and Worcester.³⁹ The Nottingham Midnight Cry did not list a distribution network; two local men served as secretary and treasurer. The paper seems to some extent to have been an organ of the Nottingham Millerite congregation.⁴⁰

The practised publishing skills of Himes helped him to establish depots for the European Herald at Barrhead, Birmingham, Bristol, Coldstream, Edinburgh, Exeter, Falmouth, Hawick, Jedburgh, Leeds, Liverpool, London, Nottingham, Plymouth, Reading, Selkirk, Truro, and Uckfield.⁴¹

3. Book Distribution

The British movement was not so ambitious as to try to establish reading rooms in the cities, but in August 1844 the Nottingham Cry listed twenty-two titles available from the editors. All but two were

38. EAH, 12 June 1848, pp.81,84.

39. SAH, 23 April 1844, p.48; AHMA, 28 Aug.1844, p.9.

40. MCN, 3 Aug., p.48.

41. Each extant issue from 3 to 10 carries a list of distributors.

American Millerite works, though one American title may have been a Nottingham reprint.⁴² In 1846 the European Herald listed twenty-two titles of which only three had been listed in the Cry. This suggested the 1844 stock may have been sold out. Had there been a large overlap of titles it would have proved no more than that these were works that the Millerites thought important, or that earlier stock had moved slowly. Fifteen titles, ten of them repeats from the list in the first issue, were mentioned two months later. The fourteen titles listed next April⁴³ were specifically mentioned as American imports.

Plymouth was a centre for Millerite books from 1847 to 1851. This may have been the initiative of Micklewood, carrying on his Nottingham practice, but the address of Burgess is given. In fact, Burgess framed his announcements of Millerite books for sale as if he were the author of works by others. This was perhaps merely careless preparation of copy. He also listed works by Pym, Bickersteth, Brock, Birks, Habershon, and Brooks under their own names. In 1850 Burgess listed R.A. Purdon's Last Vials. This means a shift in policy from the debate with Purdon⁴⁴ held by Micklewood and Dealtry in 1845.

About 1844 Vanderkiste spent nearly 1,000 dollars in reprinting Hales, Second Advent Manual, Bliss, Chronology, and Litch, Judaism Overthrown, presumably in London. Most of the other American titles were probably imports, though Burgess in 1847 listed five titles as 'reprints from American works in cheap form', which suggests they were

42. MCN, 3 Aug., p.48.

43. EAH, 1 July 1846, p.8; 1 Sept.1846, p.24; 1 April 1847, p.64.

44. Modern Phenomena...A Sermon on the Signs of the Times (Exeter, 1847), p.49; Evidence from Scripture and History...of the speedy Personal Coming of Christ (Devonport,1848), p.4; Six Discourses ...relating to the Second Coming of Christ (Devonport, 1848), end paper; Farewell Discourses (Plymouth, 1851), end paper.

reproduced in Britain.

There is no way of knowing the number of copies of Millerite books sold in Britain. Although the stocklist may change from one advertisement to another, there is no indication of the size of the stock, except that only one set of the Second Advent Library, selling at one pound and six shillings, was for sale.⁴⁶

Bonham, Burgess, Dealtry, Hutchinson, Micklewood and, 'Adventist' wrote in Britain, had the American works reprinted, or wrote on their return to America. The first book by a British Millerite who was not a returned émigré was Micklewood's The Voice of Warning.⁴⁷ Apart from articles and editorials in periodicals, all the other writers published in or after 1846, except Hutchinson, whose The Abrahamic Covenant (Montreal, 1843) was reissued in Nottingham as The Abrahamic Inheritance (1844). His The Kingdom of God was first printed in the European Herald and then reissued by Himes as the sole known tract or book publishing venture by the Himes mission. Otherwise the enterprise relied on imports. The only British Millerite publication mentioned in the European Herald, apart from possible back numbers of Winter's paper, was Micklewood's Diagram Arrangement of the Apocalypse, to be purchased from the author's Plymouth home and later from book sellers.⁴⁸

Works published after 1848 reflect the concerns of post-disappointment Millerites, or in American terms, post-Albany Adventists,

45. EAH, 1 April 1847, p.64; AH, 21 Oct.1846, p.85; Burgess, Modern Phenomena...Signs of the Times, end paper.

46. EAH, 1 April 1847, p.64.

47. In his review of Micklewood, Hutchinson noted he had quoted from L.D.Fleming, First Principles of the Second Advent Faith, (Boston,1844), AH, 17 April 1844, p.86; this work is not otherwise known to have reached Britain before 1846 when it was advertised in EAH, 1 July 1846, p.8.

48. PFF, IV, 637; EAH, 13 Aug.1846, pp.9-14; 1 Sept., p.24; 10 Oct., p.32. Hutchinson's book was later re-issued under the same title at Boston, 1855.

though this does not mean that all British or British-associated adhered to Albany ideas.

4. Magazine Contents

The American Signs and Midnight Cry gathered news keenly, though perhaps selectively. Bad news was good news in that it seemed to prove the Millerites right and the postmillennialists wrong. The appeal was to an intelligent, but not highly educated class, perhaps to the autodidacts, of whom Miller was one. The Millerites sought relief 'Not only from the sackcloth shades of dead languages, and papal traditions, but also from the fearful sophistry of modern ecclesiastical teaching...we appeal to the Bible'.⁴⁹ The Harbinger and Nottingham Midnight Cry were heavily dependent on American sources for their material. This is natural, but the degree of dependence is some measure of how far Millerism took root in Britain and was able to produce its own writers. The choice of items from American sources is some indication of the thinking of the British editors. Neither paper developed like the Latter-Day Saints Millennial Star, which, although containing much of the same type of material as the Millerite papers, acquired a sense of being rooted in England, even while pointing to America. The analysis of the content of the four extant British Millerite papers suggests that the European Herald was the most strongly indigenous.

Analysis of Sources in British Millerite Papers

	American Material	British Editorials	British Articles	Correspondence & British News
<u>SAH</u>	68.5	15.3	13.1	2.5
<u>AHMA</u>	71.9	17.5	8.4	2.2
<u>MCN</u>	65.2	2.0	24.5	7.7
<u>EAH</u>	45.3	2.2	24.3	28.0

49. AHMA, 9 Oct.1844, p.55, quoting an American source; Harrison, Second Coming, pp.201-02, for Millerite journalism.

Precise figures cannot be obtained for either volume of the Harbinger as there are missing pages. The figures are based on existing complete numbers. Percentages for all the papers have been calculated on the basis of the column inches of type, irrespective of variations in type face, but excluding the heading of the paper.

The limited space of the British Millerite papers left little room for peripheral matters, and this may be a reason for the rather narrow concentration of the papers on the second advent and allied themes. Chartism, Puseyism and the ecclesiastical troubles in Scotland would have produced good copy. The last-named was reported through a reprint from an American journal. Without exception, all British news, except local items affecting the Millerites, was taken from the American papers. Even the arrival of the mail boat in New York was recorded. Both British editors, perhaps under pressure of time, chose scissors and paste as the easiest way of preparing copy.⁵⁰ The British editors may not have had the appetite for newspaper reading and the flair displayed by the American Signs and Cry. They may have deliberately chosen to be apolitical and to print political comment that had obviously come from America, even if the sources quoted were British. European news items⁵¹ were also all from American sources.

The reasons for the British editors' selection are probably beyond recovery, and little clear pattern emerges. However, the Nottingham Cry printed more from the New York Cry than from the Signs. This may be because of Dealtry's contacts in New York and an evident interest in Storrs.⁵²

50. SAH, 2 April 1844, p.24; MCN, 24 Aug., p.69, for completely unedited use of American copy even when London papers were quoted.

51. MCN, Aug., p.62; 24 Aug., p.68.

52. Articles by Storrs in MCN, 29 June, pp.14-16; 17 Aug., pp.57-61.

Gunner and Winter had spend time in America, and this may account for Gunner's use of an American neologism 'depot' and the railroad metaphor that in various forms was to find its way into popular religious expression.⁵³

Specifically British Millerite news was more plentiful in the Nottingham Cry than in the Harbinger, though much of it was centred in the Nottingham area. The absence from both papers of statistics and organizational plans reinforces the idea that in 1844 the Millerite movement had no recognized leader and no substantial organization. Co-operation was by voluntary agreement and co-ordinated by correspondence. The fact that the Cry speaks of baptism while the Harbinger does not suggests possible theological differences between the editors, although it would be unwise to build much on this. There is no indication of co-operation between the editors. The overlap of materials selected from American sources is no greater than would be expected from purely independent choice by two sets of British editors.

The European Herald was edited by Himes, but after number four his conduct of the paper was rather nominal. The contents of the nine surviving numbers show only forty-five percent material of American origin. Some of this is specifically directed to Britain. There are articles by Hutchinson and Micklewood and accounts of the travels of Himes, Hutchinson, and Brown. There is a much greater sense of a paper produced in Britain for British readers than was achieved by the Harbinger and Nottingham Cry in that order. The European Herald is less shrill and denunciatory than its predecessors, reflecting the more

53. SAH, 30 April 1844, p.51. Depot for railway station was first noted in 1842, Shorter Oxford Dictionary (1955). Though the article carries Gunner's name, it contains little that is new, and the expression may be lifted from an American Millerite source.

tolerant spirit of the post-Albany Herald. Adventism sought respectability and co-operation with other Christian bodies.

CHAPTER VI

RELATIONS WITH PEOPLE, PRESS, CHURCH AND CLERGY

1. British Views of American Millerism

Many newspaper reports treated Millerism as if it were exclusively an American phenomenon. However, their unfavourable treatment helped to create a climate in which the British missionaries had to work. In 1843 Winter noted, 'the newspapers often contain sketches about the people in America, especially Mr. Miller'. He was in prison, or dead, or had¹ denied his doctrine or altered his dates, or turned infidel. That so much could be written of Millerism in America without reference to the same proclamation in Britain suggests the comparatively small impact made by the mission. Most British religious journals did not notice² either American or British Millerism.

The earliest report is of an excitement in France relating to the end of the world. It remained to be seen whether Mr Miller's predictions would be fulfilled. Readers were asked to compare Millerism with³ the French prophets in Buck's Theological Dictionary. In 1842 a local paper noticed the apparent Millerite inconsistency in preaching the end for April 1843 and in August 1842 taking magazine subscriptions for one⁴ year in advance.

The Movement and Anti-Persecution Gazette, a secularist paper, had received a copy of the Midnight Cry, but was impressed only by the diligence of the Millerite American saints who appeared never to go to

1. MC, 4 Jan.1844,p.189.
2. Millerites and millenarians were not prominent enough to feature in Cornwallis, Christian Sects in the Nineteenth Century.
3. Athenaeum, Jan.1840, quoted via Mercantile Journal, in ST, 15 April,1840,pp.12-13.
4. Reprinted from New York Herald in Chelmsford Chronicle, 9 Sept. 1842,p.2.

bed and to have a cry for every hour. A woman had drowned herself in Connecticut during a fit of misery caused by Millerism.⁵ The scenes climaxing in the October 1844 disappointment provided the best copy, with headlines such as 'Millerism, Madness and Misery'. Millerism was 'a superstition of a most degrading character...and many persons of weak minds' were driven crazy with anticipation. The day passed, but new revelations were believed 'with more gullible avidity than ever'.⁶ To preserve public order the authorities closed churches where Millerism was preached. Many sold property, giving away the proceeds, businesses were abandoned, an employer discharged his workmen. Several children perished as the crowds gathered by the river banks in their ascension robes. Penniless Millerites subsisted on the charity of neighbours. A new date had been fixed, 10 January 1845.⁷ An American minister wrote to England about the expectation of 22 October 1844, 'Is it not astonishing and humiliating that such an infatuation should exist in the nineteenth century, and in a country where the means of education and sound religious teaching are so extensively enjoyed'?⁸

The Times looked at American religious thought and opinion with reference to what were called Romanists, Episcopalians, Methodists, Mormons, and Millerites. The section on Millerites was inaccurate. Miller had never been a Presbyterian minister; he would have repudiated

5. Movement and Anti-Persecution Gazette, 20 April 1844, p.152; 20 July, p.256.
6. News of the World, 17 Nov.1844, p.2; The Times, 6 Nov.1844, p.6; compare Nichol, pp.355-88, 511-13, for a refutation of similar stories.
7. Church and State Gazette, 1 Nov.1844, p.695; 8 Nov., p.718; 22 Nov., p.750; 29 Nov., p.759; compare Derby & Chesterfield Reporter, 19 Nov.1844, p.4.
8. The report, dated 14 October, omitted any sensational details. The correspondent mentioned that ascension robes had been prepared, but did not claim to have seen them, Evangelical Magazine, NS 22 (1844), 690.

any claim to 'the gift of prophecy'. The spring 1844 disappointment was mentioned and the 'new and fiery zeal' for 22 October. The stories that many had become maniacs and families were in want appeared again. Miller was dismissed as a 'self-deluded fanatic', rather than a hypocrite or impostor. The 'procrastinated meetings' of the Methodists and Baptists were 'admirably calculated to supply pupils for Miller's school of theology'.⁹ Hutchinson's parents, who seem to have been premillennialists, mentioned alarming news of Millerite fanaticism received through a Methodist Episcopalian minister in America. It was unpleasant to think of one's son among those considered by the people as 'the wickedest upon earth'. However, there were some who read Himes's papers and claimed to have received more light from them than by all the sermons.¹⁰ After the October 1844 upheaval American Millerism became less controversial, less widespread, less newsworthy. Little was re-ported in Britain from October 1844 until the death of Miller.¹¹

James G. Deck, concerned with Henry Prince, noted that Satan was seeking to counterwork the revived hope of the advent by open opposition or by bringing it into contempt 'by the errors into which Irving... fell...and the fanaticism of Mormonites and Millarites [sic] in America'.¹² Herschell's Voice of Israel reprinted an item from the Jewish Chronicle, favourable on the whole to the Millerites, except their views on the restoration of Israel.¹³ The Quarterly Journal of Prophecy, edited by Horatius Bonar, considered American writers in prophecy, without naming the Millerites, but referring to their type of

9. The Times, 31 Oct. 1844, p.5.

10. Wellcome, p.499.

11. AH, 9 Mar. 1850, p.47.

12. A Word of Warning...The Heresy of Mr. Prince, second edition (1845), pp.18-19.

13. Quoted in MC, 15 Aug. 1844, p.44.

teaching. It lacked depth of knowledge and clearness of expression. It was hasty and inaccurate, especially on dates. Most of the writers were premillennialists, with a kingdom entirely of Christ and the saints, reminiscent of eighteenth century English views. The coming was daily expected, with the earth to be destroyed and renewed. This excluded the restoration of the Jews and their period of glory and the conversion of

all nations to Christ.¹⁴ Birks spoke in his 1845 Bloomsbury sermon 'of some few, or even many, who have been the prey of a dangerous excitement, followed by a relapse, no less dangerous, when the season of false

hope had gone by'.¹⁵ Post-1844 'vagaries' were reported - foot washing and greeting with the holy kiss. Charges of immorality were made against the leaders, 'which might reasonably be expected'. It¹⁶ would be best to leave them alone.

The only British religious journal that showed a sustained interest in Millerism was the Campbellite Christian Messenger of Nottingham, which drew heavily on American copy. Alexander Campbell spoke of Miller and others 'more imaginative than learned in prophecy'.¹⁷ The doctrine of the immediate second coming was causing great excitement among the American sects, especially the Baptists. Campbell and Walter Scott gave a spiritual and biblical interpretation respectively on this 'important though...mysterious topic'. Miller's method was wrong, 'substituting mourning and anxious seats for the Lord's ordinances, and calling for

14. QJP, 1 (1848-49), 135-42.

15. T.R.Birks, 'The Right Knowledge of Times and Seasons', in The Hope of the Apostolic Church, edited by T.R.Birks (1845), p.132; an article on 'The Signs of the Times' quoted Bush on Miller, CM, 7 (Mar.1843), 35.

16. Plymouth DWJ, 18 Feb.1846, p.4; pedilavium and the holy kiss were practised by the Scotch Baptists. T. Witton Davis, 'The McLeanist (Scotch) and Campbellite Baptists of Wales', Transactions of the Baptist Historical Society, 7 (1920-21), 147-81 (pp.153-54).

17. 'The Coming of the Lord', CM, 5 (June 1841), 111-17 (pp.116-17); 5 (July 1841), 147-50; 5 (Aug.1841), 183-88.

sinners to come up to him to be prayed for, instead of beseeching them to be reconciled to God, and come to God's ordinances...'. Here Campbell was criticizing not just Miller, but a whole revival technique. He did not think that such a man 'can possibly speak by any inspiration of the Spirit, or be a chosen vessel to harbinger the day of the Lord'. Miller's commencement date for the 2300 days was uncertain and he¹⁸ radically misconceived the nature of the sanctuary. Miller's teaching was summarized and described as 'clear, definite, and bold...commendably sincere ... While scoffers both ecclesiastical and political are misrepresenting and ridiculing the Millerites; thereby showing their affection for the present evil world ... for whether Millerism¹⁹ be right or wrong it is all the same to them'.

James Wallis reflected in the New Year number of the Christian Messenger, 1844, that the 'long expected...prophetic year, 1843...is gone forever'. The church was not ready for Christ. 'From these and other reasons, we are almost ready to conclude the Lord himself will not²⁰ immediately appear to take to himself great power.' There was an inaccurate report of the spring 1844 disappointment taken from an American paper, together with a notice of Dealtry's Midnight Cry.²¹ A report from the Christian Journal mentioned the expectation for 23 October, the fact that Miller doubted the calculation, and the spiritual condition of the Adventists, who 'look upon the excitement of 1843 as²² only the alarm, and the present as the true midnight cry'. This was followed by two hostile post-disappointment extracts from newspapers.

18. CM, 7 (May 1843),80-81; 7 (Aug.1843),206.

19. CM, 7 (June 1843),127-28; 7 (Sept.1843),258-60.

20. CM, 8 (Jan.1844),iii,v.

21. CM, 8 (Aug.1844),414.

22. CM, 9 (Dec.1844),205. 23 October was frequently mentioned in reports on Millerism in America, although 22 October was the date preached under S.S.Snow's impulse.

Wallis showed time had disproved the date, March 1843, set by the 'Old Millerites', and the passing of 23 October 1844 had 'confounded those who...are leading a giddy multitude into the vortex of absurdity and confusion'.²³

By 1849 Charles Stoodley considered that the attitude of the newspapers to the advent was better, although this may not refer to Millerism as such.²⁴ John Cox wrote in 1862 concerning students of prophecy in America, Millerites to their opponents, who had given a great deal of attention to the subject and issued many publications. They denied the restoration of the Jews, and the confident assertion of fixed dates had led to many extravagances which injured their cause. 'Their system has been considered by many English writers on prophecy as deficient and contradictory because they apply a literal principle to some prophecies and refused to do so as regards others.' Some books issued in America contained serious error concerning the immortality of the soul, the separate state, and the eternity of future punishment.²⁵

2. Relationships with Other Churches and Organizations

The British Millerites, like their American counterparts, saw themselves initially as inter-denominational revivalists with a special message of great urgency. They faced the prejudices against street preachers, the novelty of the 'time' doctrine and their disbelief in the return of the Jews to Palestine. Settled congregations and their ministers disliked teachings that might prove divisive.²⁶

23. CM, 9 (Dec.1844),206-07, citing Bristol Times and Philadelphia Evening Chronicle, 31 Oct.1844.

24. AH, 6 Oct.1849,p.79.

25. The Future: an outline of events predicted in the Holy Scriptures (1862), pp.138-39.

26. See Chapter III for the development of separation in American Millerism.

The first number of the Second Advent Harbinger disclaimed separation.

As Second Advent believers, we meet on common ground, and accord to all what we claim for ourselves, the right of individual opinion on all questions of denominational interest, and freely act in harmony with all, of what ever name and denomination...We ask none to lay aside their own views on doctrinal points, nor wish to give prominence to the sectarian beliefs of any...We do not wish to interfere with the ecclesiastical relations of any ...²⁷

Believers in the second advent were urged to avoid nine dangers: a censorious spirit; making sectarian views too prominent; bringing in doctrines not connected with the second advent, or preparation therefore; extravagant notions leading to fanaticism; excessive reliance on impressions, visions and dreams; judging others; setting up one's own experience as the standard by which to judge others; presumption (I Corinthians 10.12);²⁸ abandoning regular work (Luke 19.13). The 'Fundamental Principles', taken from American publications, do not mention²⁹ relationships with other bodies.

The irenical approach was changed by printing George Storrs's article, 'the old sectarian message', in Harrison's phrase, 'Come out of³⁰ her, my people', based on Revelation 18. The same article was printed in the Nottingham Midnight Cry, which added an editorial foot-³¹note to soften the impact. This extension of Babylon to the Protestant churches went beyond the more widely accepted identification with Rome. Winter felt that sectarianism was the moving principle of

27. SAH, 19 Mar.1844,p.3

28. ibid.,p.7.

29. SAH, 26 Mar.1844,p.9.

30. SAH, 2 April 1844,pp.19-21.

31. MCN, 29 June,pp.14-16. 'The organisation of churches alluded to above, has reference to those human creeds by which men's consciences are bound to the observance of that which is unscriptural; and the writer regards the existing sects of the day as Babylon, or confusion, because they are not based on the Bible', p.16.

the present day. People enquired what sect he belonged to, feeling it indispensable that he belong to some party. But if he became a Baptist, the Methodists would not hear him, and conversely. He regarded sectarianism as one of the great evils in the church.

Many think, because I will not join any of the sects, I am about to raise a new one. With regard to a new sect, we trust the position of the present sects will be sufficient to show the difference between christianity and sectarianism, and convince all that the love of any sect more than Christ, is a denial of Him.³²

As noted in Chapter I, this doctrine of separation, or denunciation of 'sects' is typical of the restorationist movements of the period. Men denounced sects while they, or their followers, formed something which to the eyes of all but the faithful seemed remarkably like one. There is a similarity between Fitch and Storrs's doctrine and Darby's 'ruin of the church'.³³

It is not always easy to determine when a writer is merely deploring the state of the churches which are still the body of Christ, and when the denunciation implies an irretrievable fall. The general rejection of the midnight cry in 1844 has been historicized by SDA writers as a fulfilment of Revelation 14.8, but has not been understood, except perhaps in the very early 'shut door' period, as implying the corruption of all Christendom except a special remnant group.³⁴

Some reformers were given to anti-clerical statements. Irving blamed the ignorance of religion on the 'want of a sedulous and skilful

32. AHMA, 2 Oct.1844,p.47.

33. Sandeen, p.54; A.Jukes, Plymouth Brethren, quoted in British Magazine, 33 (1848),481; compare 'Come out of...Babylon', Bible Advocate, 2 (1848),179; W.W.Andrews, 'A Sermon on Withdrawing from the Congregational Ministry', Theo. & Lit. Jnl, 4 (1851),338.

34. White, Great Controversy, p.390; Seventh-day Adventists Answer Question on Doctrine, pp.186-202.

35 ministry'. The Signs printed a page from Finney which claimed, 'A Speculating, Worldly-minded, Selfish, Money-making, Lukewarm, Temporiz-
36 ing Ministry is now the bane of the church'. Litch was charitable in an address to his 'dearly beloved brethren, the clergy', but positions
37 hardened after 1842. Where ministers opposed Millerite teaching there was the temptation to appeal over their heads to the congregations.
38 Believers were urged to question their ministers on these new truths. In Finney's sermon illustrations, humble but devout Christians are often wiser than their educated ministers. Laymen were encouraged to
39 disparage ministers.

Under provocation, Miller showed anti-clericalism and anti-intellectualism. He compared the cavillings of the learned critics with the humble prayer of the 'dear child of God'. 'I had rather have one humble prayer of this kind, with an English Bible in my hand, than all
40 the Hebrew, Greek and Latin Bro. S. ever knew.' Winter picked up this theme, arguing that 'God never did, nor never will make His will known to any man, or any number of men, because they are educated for the
41 ministry; but to humble, holy and devoted Christians'.

35. For the Oracles of God, four Orations, second edition (1823), reviewed in Christian Observer, 23(1823), 490-502 (p.491); compare pp.557-87.
36. ST, 15 Aug.1840, p.79; '...all the controversies...and all the great declensions in religion were chargeable upon ministers. I believe that the ministers of the present day are responsible for the present state of the church', Finney, Lectures on Revivals, p.202; compare 'Backwardness of pastors on the second advent', ST, 15 May 1841, p.31; 'Responsibility of ministers', ST, 20 July 1842, pp.121-23.
37. ST, 1 Jan.1842, p.151. The original statement was made 10 May 1840.
38. ST, 2 Aug.1841, p.70.
39. Finney, Lectures, p.75; Carwardine, p.148.
40. 'S' is either Moses Stuart, or C.E.Stowe, both of Andover Theological Seminary and both critics of Miller's positions, PFF, IV, 690; ibid., 360-61, 868, on Stuart.
41. AHMA, 28 Aug.1844, p.12.

In Britain anti-clericalism might involve working-class radicalism, bitterness between Anglican and Nonconformist clergy divided on political as well as religious issues, and the general abhorrence of a paid ministry shown by the restorationist sects. The Owenites, with their own version of the millennium, opposed Winter at King's Lynn in 1843.⁴²

The British Millerites drew much of their material from America, and the tide of 'come-outerism' was strong by 1843. The anti-clerical items printed in British Millerite papers may in some cases simply have been a failure to edit out unwanted expressions. However, Winter's statement on the clergy, quoted above, went out under his own name, and neither Winter nor Micklewood had to include Storrs's if they disagreed with it.⁴³ 'As time developes [sic] the true position of Adventists with regard to the sectarian organization of these last days, we are more and more astonished at the striking analogy between that position, and that of his true followers, at...his first advent.' The title of the article, 'And they cast him out', taken from John 9.34, shows the analogy.⁴⁴ This extract reflects the American situation, and may have been felt more in Britain by August 1844 than earlier. The second volume of the Harbinger has more to say than the first on anti-clericalism and rejection by the churches. 'The church at the first Advent', an unsigned article, drew a parallel between the corruptions and blindness of the Jewish leaders and present day churchmen. 'Marvel

42. Ward, Religion and Society, p.177; Thompson, Working Class, pp.433-38; Chadwick, Victorian Church, I, 26-31,61; Lynn Advertiser and West Norfolk Herald, 12 Sept.1843,p.4.

43. SAH, 9 April 1844,p.31; 'It is the fault of the ministry that one church has even been divided on this question', AHMA, 28 Aug.1844,p.12. This was an American reprint, not Winter's writing.

44. AHMA, 28 Aug.1844,p.16; this article, with the same orthography, also appeared in the American Advent Message to the Daughters of Zion, Sept.1844,p.27.

not, brethren, this opposition to Christ's Advent is no new thing.'

The attitude of the British Millerites to the clergy was ambivalent, seeking to influence them and use their pulpits, yet sometimes denouncing them. Dealtry seems to have been the leader in challenging ministers of other faiths to public debates in Nottingham and Bristol. Micklewood and Dealtry sought to soften the blow of denouncing ministers in the Nottingham Midnight Cry by showing that 'those men only are intended who teach false doctrine; there are a few pleasing exceptions among the watchmen on the walls of Zion'. False doctrine included the conversion of the world by the gospel, the restoration of the carnal Jews to Palestine, the spiritual coming and reign of Christ and the spiritual-probationary millennium. In fact, the only ministers who would appear to escape condemnation were those who agreed with the Millerite position. Later denunciations were not tempered even by such qualified disclaimers, though tribute was paid to those who accepted the 'Cry' and proclaimed it. Henry Clarke, a leading Nottingham believer, wrote an open letter to the ministers of Nottingham, 'professionally the ambassadors of our Lord Jesus Christ', who conceal the fact of the advent at hand. They 'endeavour to fasten the guilt of dissimulation and hypocrisy upon the patient, expectant disciples'. The ministers had already been challenged to refute the chronology. Educational prejudices impeded reception of advent principles. All compulsory forms of religion checked freedom of enquiry. The Millerites had a 'clearer perception of the truth, a more intimate acquaintance with the Bible, and the laws of prophetic interpretation' and so were 'abused...as

45. AHMA, 9 Jan.1845, pp.81-82.

46. MCN, 24 Aug., p.72; 31 Aug., p.80.

47. MCN, 29 June, p.9.

48

ignorant, presumptive and dogmatical'. Winter urged the ministers 'to throw away your foolish arguments and carnal reasonings, and betake thyself to thy closet, to thy Bible, and to thy God, for light and understanding'.⁴⁹ Dealtry, annoyed that a report of a minister converted to Millerism had proved incorrect, wrote perhaps the most intemperate denunciation of the clergy from a British Millerite: '...a hireling ministry...the church...what a fearful apostasy from primitive purity and simplicity! Filled with spiritual darkness, self-conceit, arrogance, pride and worldly policies'. Dealtry had a capacity for making enemies.⁵⁰ Micklewood and Dealtry asked if it was heterodox to believe that Christ would come again to earth to receive his saints. Were they treated as heretics because they believed that Christ would come in 1844? Did their crime consist in examining the Bible for themselves? They had been turned off with some French or German philosophy or insult. They were in good company in believing in the exactness of prophetic time.⁵¹

The Millerites frequently indicated that the worst opposition came from clergy and professed Christians. Barker was patronizingly told by the minister in East Dereham 'to go home...and sleep twice 365 days and wake up and I should find the world still standing'. They thought the subject was too serious to go into their chapels. Barker argued that the almost empty chapels and full public houses showed the world was ready for the advent.⁵² Unequal standards were applied. 'Many complain of us for creating disturbance in the churches, and breaking the peace of the public mind. Others by threatenings and flatteries en-

48. MCN, 7 Sept., p.82.

49. AHMA, 1 Sept.1844, p.19.

50. MCN, 7 Sept., p.88; compare Winter, AHMA, 7 Nov.1844, p.62.

51. MCN, 27 July, pp.33-34.

52. MC, 8 Feb.1844, p.219.

deavour to make us cease our operations...and if we say a word against these views we are considered very uncharitable indeed.'⁵³ Many so called Christians were very angry when told the Lord was coming soon. Though some accepted Gunner's message at Weston-super-Mare, 'others who were mere nominal professors had been awakened, not to seek a preparation, but to persecute those who have'.⁵⁴ Hutchinson felt he would rather deal with men of the world than most professors of religion. He had just been refused the use of a hall. Dissenters as a whole were opposed to second advent preaching, without the 'honourable exceptions'⁵⁵ found in the Church of England.

There was acceptance as well as opposition. Gunner wrote, 'some of the many denominations have the liberality, the love of the truth, the moral courage to open their doors and hear the word with all readiness of mind'. William Priest found it impossible to describe the effect Millerite papers produced among different religious sects, particularly the Baptists. Winter mentioned Methodists, Baptists, and Independents,⁵⁶ who embraced the doctrine and were at work. The Millerites were interested in winning the clergy to their viewpoint and claimed some success. If a minister preached the premillennial advent nigh, he was with the Millerites in the main, though he might be 'dark' on the question of carnal Israel.⁵⁷ Barker had met many ministers who were now favourable to his beliefs, except the time, but they were investigating the subject. He believed as many as twelve or fifteen of his acquaintances, probably on the south coast, were preaching the doctrine. A Methodist minister had requested a regular supply of Second Advent

53. AHMA, 21 Oct.1844,p.54.

54. SAH, 23 April 1844,p.41; AHMA, 7 Nov.1844,p.61.

55. AH, 4 Nov.1846,pp.100-01; EAH, 1 Sept.1846,p.21.

56. SAH, 26 Mar.1844,p.9; MC, 18 May 1843,p.65; 14 Dec.,p.152.

57. EAH, 13 Aug.1846,p.15.

publications and a Mr Hall (no denomination given), met with the
⁵⁸
 Millerite conference in 1844.

In America the Methodists seemed to have taken the hardest line against the Millerites. This impression may be due partly to the fact that some of the best known examples of disfellowshipping were from that body. An American Methodist leader saw the 'Second Advent delusion' as 'inconceivably the greatest calamity that has befallen us'. In turn,
⁵⁹
 the Millerites saw the Methodists on the road to German Neology. After their British visit Himes and Brown felt, though they did not want to say it harshly, 'that no sect in England are so opposed to the Advent doctrine as the Methodists: would that were all, but none seems more ambitious of notice and influence; nothing less than a place by the side of her sister, of the Established Church, will ever satisfy her ambi-
⁶⁰
 tion'. Himes had sensed something of the tension of the Methodists, uneasily placed between Anglicanism and Nonconformity.

After some difficulty in Truro, the European Herald, in a news item, stated that the Methodists, were 'generally among the foremost to oppose the truth of the personal advent nigh'. 'A Local Preacher' wrote from London, hoping that this statement applied only to the Truro area, and quoted John Fletcher and John Wesley on the premillennial advent. Though emphasizing that it was not typical, Himes quoted from the annual address of the Conference of Methodist Societies of Great Britain held in Bristol in 1846: 'Let us think of our Lord's coming... Brethren, give the right hand of fellowship to all that "look for him and love his appearing!"' He gained a poor impression of two other

58. MC, 16 May 1844, p.351; 28 Nov.1844, p.170.

59. MCN, 6 July, p.22; Carwardine, p.53; AH, 10 April 1844, p.76.

60. AH, 6 Jan.1847, p.173.

Methodist preachers he heard.

The Church of England was a paradox for the Millerites. On the one hand were the 'students of prophecy', and on the other the Puseyites. It is noteworthy that some of the best-publicized Millerite activity after 1844 took place in the diocese of Bishop Phillpotts of Exeter. This may have added some piquancy to debates on baptism between the Millerites and their opponents.

Some Anglican clergy were studying American Millerite papers in 1843, and preaching the Advent doctrine, one man in Kent lecturing twice a week.⁶² In 1846, a few men were named as preaching the doctrine, but 'The ministers and churches of the establishment generally reject it'. Rather to the contrary, Hutchinson believed that the light had been spreading in the Church of England, so that it was, by late 1846, very common on going into a town to find the clergyman 'with' the Millerites 'in the main'. While this was a cause for rejoicing, in many cases the doctrine was held too much as mere theory and applied to the expectation of the return of the Jews to Palestine.⁶³ The minister at Knottingley was at first a persecutor and preached against Burgess. By mid-1844 he had read books, been convinced, and given the 'Cry' himself. Mr Hutton of Woburn, who had several of the American books (presumably Millerite), told Burgess that 700 Church of England ministers were preaching the advent.⁶⁴ Mr Fish, Anglican minister in Torquay, and a premillennialist writer, had listened to Himes and Brown in Reading. In conversation he noted how the second edition of Elliott's Horae

61. EAH, 10 Oct.1846,p.32; 20 Nov.,pp.38-39; compare SAH, 23 April 1844,p.43; AH, 6 Jan.1847,p.173.

62. AH, 12 Feb.1844,p.11.

63. EAH, 1 Sept.1846,p.21; AH, 10 Feb.1847,p.5.

64. MC, 25 July 1844,p.15; Knottingley, a perpetual curacy, was held by C.G.Smith and George Steward in 1842, Clergy List (1842),p.190.

Apocalypticæ had been snapped up. Rosingrave Macklin, minister of Christ Church, Derby, preached the advent at hand for some years.⁶⁵

There were also Nonconformist friends. Mr Fryar and his congregation in Falmouth were already looking for the personal advent. They received further light 'and now they are with us, not only upon the personal and premillennial advent, but also on the time, the kingdom, etc.'⁶⁶ Himes heard of a third minister in Birmingham on the point of embracing the doctrine. One of the three may have been William Duncan Corken of West Bromwich, who by the end of 1846 was visiting the Millerite believers weekly and feeding them with the word of the kingdom. Himes, who made I Corinthians 13 his principle, had met him at the Evangelical Alliance and Corken had invited him to the Baptist pulpit. Hutchinson considered Himes had done well when he 'conducted such a minister into the temple of truth'. The Tanner sisters brought two ministers, a young Baptist and an Independent, to their Bible classes in the Hereford area. In response to literature distributed they were able to hold a meeting with sixty present to listen to an interpretation of Daniel 2.⁶⁷ George H. Cossens, Congregational minister of Martock, Somerset, gave a very friendly reception to the Millerites.⁶⁸ John Alfred Francois, who supplied the pulpit of the Baptist Hope Chapel,

65. EAH, 10 Oct. 1846, p. 29. Christ Church, Normanton Road, was built from a design by Matthew Habershon, the architect and writer on prophecy, S. Bagshaw, History, Gazetteer and Directory of Derbyshire (Sheffield, 1846), p. 119.

66. EAH, 23 Dec. 1846, p. 45.

67. William Priest had reported in 1843 that one minister, possible Baptist, 'had decided to come out with the doctrines', MC, 14 Dec. 1843, p. 152; AH, 11 Nov. 1846, p. 109; 2 Dec., p. 133; 16 Dec., p. 149; 10 Feb. 1847, p. 5; 30 Oct., p. 103; EAH, 10 Oct. 1846, p. 29; 23 Dec., p. 48.

68. Cossens began his pastorate in 1830, forming the communicants into an Independent church. His ministry closed in 1866. Annual Report of the Congregational Union... 1896 with historical sketches of the churches (1896).

Reading, was impressed by the preaching of Brown in his chapel. Brown found that he held views similar to those of the Adventists, though he said little about them. Later 'he came out square for the truth'. He announced as his topic for next Sunday, 'The promise made to Abraham',⁶⁹ not, perhaps significantly, a time prophecy.

In Coldstream Hutchinson found that the minister of the Evangelical Union chapel had fully embraced the Second Advent faith. The minister had ^{ed}formally worked on the estate of Lord Home, but lost his job as he⁷⁰ insisted on preaching in his spare time. At Hawick the 'best members' of the Independent chapel and many others accepted during Hutchinson's ten day stay, while at Selkirk the minister and entire Independent membership believed. There was an interesting discussion with James Begg, the seventh-day sabbatarian who had corresponded with Millerite papers in America. Hutchinson also visited the veteran millenarian controversialist William Cuninghame.⁷¹ Mr Perves of Jedburgh at first refused to publicize Hutchinson's meetings, but he wrote explaining his actions and expressing his sympathy and premillennial faith.⁷² Hutchinson also visited Mr McAllum, a Morrisonian, in Glasgow. Writing of his visit with Joseph Tyso, Baptist minister of Wallingford, whom we shall meet later in this study, Hutchinson concentrated on⁷³ points of agreement and minimized Tyso's futurism.

69. AH, 26 Aug.1846,p.21.

70. AH, 9 Dec.1846,p.141.

71. AH, 14 Oct.1846,p.77; 25 Nov.,p.125; ; EAH, 1 April 1847,p.62.

72. AH, 14 Oct.1846,p.77; 9 Dec.,p.141; EAH, 23 Dec.1846,p.48. This assumes that Perves of Hawick and Purves or Purvis of Jedburgh are the same person.

73. AH, 2 Sept.1846,p.29; 21 Jan.1854,pp.22-23; EAH, 23 Dec.1846,pp.47-48; 1 April 1847,p.64; biographical details of Tyso, Baptist Manual (1853), p.48-49. I am indebted to Dr John A.Oddy for this reference; on Tyso's views, Oddy, 'Eschatological Prophecy', pp.145-52.

James Scott of Edinburgh, a minister and writer on prophecy, entertained Hutchinson, and perhaps as a result became an agent for the European Herald. The paper had favourably noticed a tract by Scott who was extensively quoted by the American Herald in the 1850s.⁷⁴ Mr Lamb and Mr Haigh, Independent ministers at Wakefield, were friendly and hospitable to Bonham, who was invited to speak at Wortley by Mr Armstrong, the Independent minister. Bonham lectured in the 'stone chapel' occupied by Jabez Tunnicliff in 1848 and the two men met again in 1850.⁷⁵ Himes enjoyed the company of John Cox, millenarian Baptist minister of Woolwich, and the Anglican John W. Brooks, both voluminous writers.⁷⁶

In Dorset the minister with whom Bonham stayed, embraced the doctrine and spent a month travelling with him. A Methodist minister wrote privately to Hutchinson expressing deep feeling on the advent. He faced the agonizing decision between keeping silent or preaching the advent and losing his job. Hutchinson believed there were many in the different denominations who felt the same way, but were afraid of expressing their convictions to their congregations. He had been through this painful experience himself.⁷⁷

Local preachers had less to lose than salaried clergy and had less theological training to counter new views. At Lowestoft two local preachers asked Gunner what they should do and were told to proclaim the truth. At Sheffield several Wesleyan Methodist local preachers accepted and preached the doctrine. However, from the context, it is far from

74. AH, 9 Dec.1846,p.141; EAH, 1 April 1847,p.64; 1 July.,p.80.

75. AH, 25 May 1850,pp.133-34; 26 Oct.,p.310.

76. AH, 21 Oct.1846,p.85; Brooks wrote to Himes, AH, 26 Aug.1846,p.21; 18 Nov.,p.117.

77. AH, 30 Oct.1847,p.103. No name,place or denomination are given; EAH, 23 Dec.1846,pp.45-46. A pamphlet by Fitch and the Voice of Elijah drew his attention to the advent.

clear if these preachers were in any sense 'Millerites' except in their
⁷⁸
 belief in the premillennial advent.

As noted in Chapter IV, sending literature to ministers was part of Millerite missionary strategy. Hutchinson's Voice of Elijah was probably the most systematically distributed paper, and the editor called on or wrote to recipients and correspondents during his visit in England. He noted carefully all the clergy on the ship as he travelled to Britain. The European Herald was sent to 'a number of distinguished friends'.⁷⁹ Hutchinson visited S.T.Dobney, a Baptist and premillennialist, father of the annihilationist (Hutchinson's term) Henry H. Dobney, and a recipient of the Voice of Elijah.⁸⁰ William Cave, Wesleyan Methodist minister of Appleby, saw only one issue of the Voice, but his views of the millennium were entirely changed. He was now preaching on the subject. Bonham sent copies of the Midnight Cry to a theological institution, where the residents declared it threw light on scripture. Himes sent papers to Pym, on whom Burgess had called in 1844, Bickersteth, Birks, Brooks, and Brock. Bickersteth sent books⁸¹ and a friendly note in return. An unnamed writer, presumably a minister, told of preaching on Daniel 2 to a crowd of 200, some of whom had come from seven miles distant. He read to his rural congregation a letter received from Henry Tanner. The preacher's longing for a heavenly home was perhaps increased by his longing to leave his present⁸² habitation, where after five years he was reduced to a 'semi-savage'.

The Christadelphians later decided to supply every minister in the

78. MC, 29 Feb.1844,p.251; AH, 6 Jan.1847,p.173.

79. AH, 24 June 1846,p.156; 2 Sept.,p.29; EAH, 1 July 1846,p.8.

80. AH, 2 Sept.1846,p.29.

81. MC, 29 Feb.1844,p.251; 28 Nov.,p.170; AH, 12 Aug.1846,p.5; 26 Aug.,p.21; VTGT, 3 Dec.1845, p.545.

82. AH, 9 Sept.1846,p.40.

town with their Declaration. They had little faith that any would accept, but they might oppose the truth 'and thus do it a benefit, for nothing is better for the cause of truth than opposition'. The Miller-⁸³ites were usually more optimistic.

3. Separation, Church-outed, or Co-operation

There are no statistics to show how many of the British Millerites left their own churches and formed gathered congregations. Winter and Burgess may not have been expecting this in 1843. Burgess wrote of people to whom he had preached being converted by the cry of Matthew 25.6 and joining the Methodist. He is reported as baptizing persons and encouraging them to stay in their own religious affiliation. James Wallis objected that the Millerites did not 'erect churches of⁸⁴ believers', but believed the church to be scattered through the sects.

On the other hand, withdrawal from the churches appeared to be a necessity for the believer in the soon coming of Christ, according to the Harbinger in late 1844. Among the many dangers he faced were retaining membership in the church where some expected the advent and the other party were 'laying plans to build up party and sect for ages to come'. Those looking for Christ's coming were in great danger from those ministers who did not know whether he was coming, and so were not giving the alarm. Advent believers should not attend the preaching of such ministers. The better the ministers preached, the more dangerous they were. People would attend Adventist meetings, and be convicted by the Holy Spirit that Jesus was coming soon. The next week, hearing their own eloquent and moving minister, the Advent believer would feel

83. Ambassador, 4 (1867), 178.

84. SAH, 30 April 1844, p.55; CM, 8 (June 1844), 302.

that such a good man would not have omitted the glory to follow if it were really important.⁸⁵ This is an American statement published in Britain. It is not clear how far it reflects the thinking of the British leaders.

The Advent Herald Millerites after Albany disliked the separation they felt had been forced on them. There was no post-1844 call to come out of Babylon in the sense of leaving the churches, although articles continued to be written decrying the failures of the 'nominal churches'.⁸⁶ Himes attempted to co-operate with two who had published a pamphlet stating that Christ would come at passover 1848. The authors would not work with Himes as he believed the millennium to be in the future. Himes thought such lack of co-operation 'disgusting to man and abhorrent to God'. Brown, one of the 1846 missionaries to England, registered as a Baptist at the Evangelical Alliance and was working again with the Baptists by 1847, although still believing in the speedy advent.⁸⁷ Curry had written in late 1845 that he was about to be silenced in the church to which he had long been attached for preaching the coming at hand. However, the American missionaries noted that at Liverpool 'the dear brethren are intimately connected with the different sections of the church, and so long as they are permitted to remain, they consider it their duty to do so'. This was despite the scoffs and taunts they had received, especially at the passing of October 1844.⁸⁸ Bonham's Wirral believers in 1850 stayed with their churches. The

85. AHMA, 7 Nov.1844,p.63.

86. They had been 'driven into a more separate and distinct body than we ever anticipated, and against our wishes', EAH, 1 July 1846,p.6; Micklewood, AH, 17 Mar.1847,p.48.

87. AH, 23 Sept.1846,p.53; 4 Sept.1847,p.47.

88. AH, 29 Jan.1845,p.198; 4 Feb.1846,p.206; 4 Mar.,p.30; 20 April 1850,p.94.

symbiosis of millenarian Baptists and Adventists in Leeds is discussed in Chapter X. There may have been something similar at Falmouth. Many Millerites were not able to achieve this eclecticism. Micklewood and John Kitchen, the leader at Reading, had both been forced out of the Methodists. Several local preachers had been silenced for speaking on the blessed hope. Hutchinson's dismissal from the Wesleyan Methodist ministry in Canada led to lasting bitterness. Jonathan Shaw, a Primitive Methodist, was not accepted by that body when he returned to England in 1844 with Millerite views.⁸⁹ The problem of divided loyalties was exemplified by a young Bristolian who had heard Simon Sleep preach on II Peter 3.9. in the evening. 'In the morning I went to the Wesleyan chapel, to please my father, who is decidedly opposed to my leaving their society. I wish they would expel me; for I cannot consistently remain in connection with them, and how to leave them, I know not.'⁹⁰

There could be social implications in becoming a committed Millerite. C.A.Thorp of Leeds, where pulpits seem to have been shut to Adventist preachers, wrote that 'we have stood the brunt of battle, and the keen arrows of persecution: we have been turned out of society and have given up friends and connectional ties of all kinds for the truth's sake'.⁹¹ The disfellowshipping of Silas Marner, though fictional, illustrates the close connection between the social and religious life of the earnest chapel-goer. There are no recorded cases of Millerites being put out of employment for their beliefs. A butler was put out of

89. Micklewood, EAH, 23 Dec.1846,p.45; AH, 26 Aug.1846,p.21; 6 Jan. 1847,p.173; 13 April 1850,p.88; Hutchinson had little to do with his former Wesleyan colleagues at the Evangelical Alliance meeting in London, AH, 30 Sept.1846,p.59.

90. MCN, 10 Aug.,p.56.

91. AH, 27 Nov.1847,p.135; the believers had to meet in the home of Thorp's father, at Middleton, three miles from Leeds, AH, 9 Mar. 1850,p.46.

his service by his Anglican employer for being a Mormon and holding forth in chapel. One suspects that the latter was regarded as the nub⁹² of the offence as at Coldstream.

In 1848 the Americans gave guarded counsel to Adventists in fellowship with other Christian groups. Adventists should not give up the truth for the sake of accommodation. They should seek the common ground and use that for a further reception of truth. Where there was lack of success in winning over others there should be no retaliation. Those who would not hear should be left alone. 'Be careful your rejection, as advent believers, does not turn on some other question than this vital truth.'⁹³ In 1848 Burgess urged his readers: 'Be rational, be cautious. Where can be the harm of being prepared?'. This suggests a loss of⁹⁴ certainty.

The British Millerites were sometimes rather uncertain as to whom they should claim as allies. Winter wrote of 'second advent brethren⁹⁵ lecturing', one of whom assisted him in holding a camp meeting. Curry referred to a brother in South Wales, 'may the Lord own and bless his labours'. Winter mentioned four, excommunicated from the Church of England, sounding the midnight cry 'under whose instrumentality the cause is receiving many accessions, both among professors and saints'. This was almost certainly Henry Prince. Later Himes lamented that Prince and his associates had gone through 'self righteousness, through⁹⁶ bigotry and finally presumption and blasphemy'. At Leeds Burgess accepted for two or three weeks the use of what was called a Second Advent Chapel, formerly Mr Hamilton's. This suggests that there was

92. LDSMS, 11 (1849), 266-67; compare n.70 above.

93. EAH, 12 June 1848, p.84; see Chapter IV above for a fuller summary.

94. Discourse on the Kingdom of God, p.12.

95. MC, 2 Nov.1843, p.93.

96. AH, 17 Sept.1845, p.47; 1 Oct., p.60; 13 Jan.1846, p.182.

already an Adventist group in Leeds prior to the Millerites. They could have been raised up by Winter in an earlier itinerary, but if so, it is surprising that Burgess did not mention it.⁹⁷

As part of a survey of second advent preaching, Brown visited a Southcottian church in London, all that remained of the former 40,000 believers. The pastor gave them a liberal supply of books, since there were 'no readers now'. The seven men appointed to preach the gospel and work miracles had all died, except one. The Southcottians regarded Brown's visit as providential. None but the Southcottians had received such great light, and none had been so ungrateful. They would be blessed above all others if they would obey. They awaited the advent of the Spirit before the personal advent of Christ. Brown could not understand their teaching of a 'sort of spiritual continuous resurrection'. They appeared to believe in a final restoration of the whole human family. He believed them sincere and of a good spirit. Many of the books and manuscripts by Joanna, Thomas Dowland, and Henry 'Joseph' Prescott seemed 'to have been written under the influence of religious feelings; and contained pretty good sentiments'.⁹⁸ Brown invited his readers to draw their own conclusions. Later he wrote to correct what had appeared in the Advent Herald. Although the sentence is rather ambiguous, it appears that another group of Southcottians had written to Himes claiming to be the real representatives of the tradition. Brown had reported in good faith what had been told to him, but now concluded that there were two groups. A letter from Ashton-under-Lyne, where John Wroe had once been the accepted prophet, stated that the London group

97. SAH, 30 April 1844, p.55; MC, 25 July 1844, p.15; there could be a connection between the early Leeds Adventists and the groups mentioned in Chapter X, Section 3.

98. AH, 23 Sept. 1846, p.53.

were followers of Elias Carpenter, not of Joanna.

The term 'brother' was applied to some who were not in communion with the Millerites. Indeed, the Millerites had insufficient organization to set up criteria for communion. Thomas Smith, the author of Eight Lectures on Prophecy was quoted by the Signs, and in 1847 referred to as Brother Smith, the former local preacher who had written much and continued to preach. William Trotter of the Brethren was similarly addressed.¹⁰⁰

The Millerite preachers sought and occupied the pulpits of other churches wherever possible. There were at least twenty-seven examples of this hospitality. The limited data suggests that the smaller denominations were more hospitable: Baptists 2, Bible Christians 1, Independent 6, Morrisonian (Scotland) 1, Primitive Methodist 2, Wesleyan Methodist 1, Plymouth Brethren 3, Presbyterian 1, Temperance Church 1, unspecified 9. Millerites were never offered the Anglican pulpit, nor¹⁰¹ do they mention making such a request.

The majority of the recorded friendly contacts between Millerite preachers and ministers of other persuasions appear to have taken place after 1844, judging by the available records. There are several possible explanations of this. The earlier mainly British group of missionaries may not have had the education or social confidence to approach other clergy as freely as Brown, Himes, and Hutchinson, who were experienced and had moved in wider circles. Deatry in particular was combative by temperament and seems to have sought confrontation rather than co-operation. A definite time for the advent was being

99. AH, 20 Jan.1847,p.189.

100. ST, 25 Oct.1843,p.79; AH, 6 Jan.1847,p.173; Chapter IX, n.10.

101. Baptist, Congregational Methodist, Wesleyan Methodist, SAH, 4 June 1844,p.90; AH, 4 Nov.1846,p.100; 14 Aug.1847,p.14.

preached before October 1844; Burgess and Dealtry at least continued to preach dates after 1844. In 1846 Himes and his associates were not time-setters. They thus avoided a contentious issue in mixing with other premillennialists. Doctor Cox of New York was a little nervous about sitting with the followers of Miller at the Evangelical Alliance. Himes tactfully praised him for his stand on the resurrection of the body. It may be that with the gathering of Adventist congregations, the movement became more comprehensible and acceptable to clergy of other groups than had been an agitation which sought to influence all churches. The lengthy letters of the visiting trio may appear to make their activity greater than it actually was in relation to that of other Millerites.

The Millerites also mentioned occasions when they were debarred from the pulpit. There were fewer examples of this, the references often being to a tendency rather than specific instances. A statement that the opposition would not allow a word from the pulpit on the second advent is an example of this generalization. The Congregational Methodists at Paisley declined to let Hutchinson use their building lest¹⁰² he disturb the sentiments of the church there.

4. Popular Attitudes

Signs both of acceptance and persecution were noted by the British Millerites. Both ingredients helped to stimulate the zeal of the believers. There is little recorded of popular attitudes. William Priest found 'a few serious enquiring men, anxious to be prepared for the second coming'. On the other hand, the believers were called 'Miller-

102. EAH, 13 Aug.1846,p.16; 10 Oct.1846,p.29; AH, 9 Sept.1846,p.40
20 Jan.1847,p.189; Billington, 'Millerite Adventists',pp.205-06.

ites, Mormons, Canting humbugs, Gospel-mongers, White-robed saints and American maniacs'.¹⁰³ The second epithet shows the confusion that existed in the popular mind between Millerites and the Latter-Day Saints. The Nottingham Midnight Cry specifically denied any connection with the Mormons.¹⁰⁴ The third and fourth taunts are generalized insults for zealous preachers and believers. 'American Maniacs', and 'Millerites' emphasize the alien origin of the system. One West of England paper referred to the Second Advent preachers there as Millerites; Mormon or Latter-Day Saint were the usual terms. The reference to white robes could indicate that stories of ascension robes were circulating in Britain as early as 1843.¹⁰⁵ A newspaper considered Winter and Burgess were making a good thing out of their mission, being invited out to tea nearly every evening. The police should be alert lest the preachers start a few partial conflagrations, presumably to prove their point. Winter wrote, 'we are exceedingly censured and blamed both from pulpit and press, as false prophets, heretics, seditious fellows, blasphemers, deluded enthu-

103. William Priest, MC, 14 Dec.1843,p.152; the Christadelphians in Nottingham were later 'stigmatised by fellow townsmen as infidel and crazy', Ambassador, 1 (1864),16.
104. MCN, 3 Aug.,p.48; Plymouth DWJ, 9 April 1846,p.4; FFBJ, 11 Oct. 1845,p.8; there was the same confusion in Leeds in 1850, after years of work, AH, 24 Aug.1850,p.238.
105. Bristol Times, 23 Mar.1844,p.3; AH, 8 April 1846,p.67; the first references to ascension robes, a refutation of a rumour, are ST, 1 Feb.1843,p.157; MC, 3 Feb.1843,p.15; Nichol, pp.389-447, 513-19; Plymouth DSH, 4 Oct.1845,p.3; Church and State Gazette, 29 Nov. 1844,p.759; Philadelphia Evening Chronicle, 31 Oct., quoted in Christian Messenger, 9 (Dec.1844),206; the titles Adventists and Latter-Day Saints were applied to Dealtry and Burgess by West Country newspapers, AH, 8 April 1846,p.67; in 1874 the Christadelphians were discussing the need for each saint to provide himself a white robe. The official view discouraged this, Wilson, 'Social Aspects', p.887; there may also have been an interest in robes among some early Jehovah's Witnesses, Millions now Living, p.9. No source is given for the statement.

106
 siasts'. The Liverpool Mercury, a Catholic paper, heralded the
 'three shoemakers from America'.¹⁰⁷ The reason for such a term is
 not clear, possibly an allusion to an earlier incident in Devon.
 An American Adventist source in 1858 used the expression 'tell shoe-
 maker's lies' as if it were proverbial. Shoemakers were one of the
 'outworking', self-educated classes who provided recruits for Non-
 conformity and political movements. Did the Millerite emissaries
 appear to be in that social bracket? Nathanael Hervey and Luther
 Boutelle, two American Millerites, were shoemakers, but it is un-
 likely they were widely known in England.¹⁰⁸

Open-air baptisms might be reported as 'fanatical proceedings' or
 at least unusual. Dealtry and Burgess were regarded as complete bigots
 on the subject of baptism.¹⁰⁹

There are few examples of physical ill-treatment of Millerites.
 The best documented case is when Dealtry and Burgess were mobbed in
 Exeter. They may have been the 'two itinerant spouters' given one
 month's hard labour at Bodmin.¹¹⁰ There was some disturbance of
 Millerite meetings by Roman Catholics. Himes was interrupted at

106. Norfolk and Norwich Monitor, 4 Jan.1844,p.6; 1 Feb.,pp.14,15;
AHMA, 21 Oct.1844,p.54.

107. AH, 5 Aug.1846,p.205.

108. Harrison, Second Coming, pp.152-53; World's Crisis, 6 (1858),97;
 John Thorogood was a Chelmsford cobbler with a reputation for
 heckling at vestry meetings, Chadwick, Victorian Church,
 I, 149; Harrison, Early Victorians, pp.138,151,160,175; the dec-
 line of the outwork class provided a recruiting ground for noncon-
 formity, Gilbert, 'Growth and Decline', pp.367-71; PFF, IV, 708-09.

109. The Kelso Chronicle noted that Hutchinson's open air baptism was a
 rather unusual sight, AH, 25 Nov.1846,p.125;CM, 9(April
 1845),336; Plymouth DSH, 11 Oct.1845,p.3; Plymouth DWJ, 18
 Feb.1846,p.3; 26 Oct.1848,p.4; AH, 8 April 1846, p.67; the
 dispute between Gorham and Bishop Phillpotts of Exeter began
 in 1846, generating a large amount of literature on a sub-
 ject already controversial, Chadwick, Victorian Church, I, 250-55;
 J.C.S.Nias, Gorham and the Bishop of Exeter (1951).

110. Lambert, Cobbett,p.127; Trewman's Exeter F.P., 16 Jan.1845,p.2.

Birmingham by those who feared the boots made for their master the Pope by the 'three shoemakers would pinch the toes'. He lectured in Devonport on popery to a crowd of 2,000, but when his meeting in London was broken up, he felt 'the Beast is truly waxing bold'. Catholics were annoyed at Bonham's preaching 'on the character and doom of the papacy' in 1850 at Wakefield. In Selby the priest saw the handbill on the topic and prevented Bonham from using the hall he had planned.¹¹¹

Not all newspaper comment was hostile. The North Devon Journal was informed that the lectures given by Burgess in Barnstable 'exhibited much research' and the theatre was crowded as the audience improved each evening. The Border Watch gave full and favourable reports on Hutchinson's preaching. The Bristol Times, normally no friend to Millerism, reported without adverse comment from the Advent Herald¹¹² of 2 December 1846 on the proposed 1847 conference in London.

The tension of believing in the imminent advent and the possibility of delay was felt particularly by the Millerites who were committed to definite dates. The phrase, 'if the Lord tarry' was used to indicate that all future plans were tentative. Critics were quick to point out what seemed to be inconsistencies in conduct. In September 1844, after insisting that the world would be destroyed in the autumn, the preacher called for a collection to pay off the debts of the chapel, the overplus to be applied to the erection of a new chapel.¹¹³ Dealtry or Burgess reportedly ordered a thick-soled shoe a few days before the predicted end of the world. On

111. AH, 11 Nov.1846,p.109; 9 Dec.,p.141; 16 Dec.,p.149; 25 May 1850,p.134.

112. AH, 8 April 1846,p.67; 6 Jan.1847,p.173; 10 April,p.75; EAH, 1 April 1847,p.62; Bristol Times, 26 Dec.1846,p.2.

113. Bath Chronicle, 12 Sept.1844,p.3.

the other hand, there seemed to be no editorial enthusiasm for people who had resigned business and were acting out their beliefs by distributing tracts.¹¹⁴

The mundane intruded itself into the concerns of people before the anticipated date as they determined what they should do with their property and after, when they were disappointed. Should a believer claim back property previously given away as of no further value?¹¹⁵ The failure of predictions made the Millerites vulnerable to hostile comment. Some of the preachers were accused of making a good thing out of their work.¹¹⁶ To show that the preachers were both mercenary and mean on the last evening of the world was too delicious a story to neglect, and the editor knew there could be no reprisal.¹¹⁷

5. Reasoned Opposition

The Millerites in Britain were not significant enough to produce a large volume of reasoned opposition, but there is enough to show how they were regarded by opponents who were prepared to argue rather than vilify. Most of the writing and debating was after 1844, and much of it is centred on the West Country, but there are indications that by 1844 the Millerites in Britain were noticed. J.T.H. wrote from Beeston, Nottingham, concerning the publicity given by the Nottingham Review to Dealtry and Micklewood's preaching. He had heard both sides. He

114. 'The Latter-Day Saints at Plymouth', FFBJ, 11 Oct.1845,p.8; Plymouth DSH, 11 Oct.1845, p.4.
115. Harrison, Second Coming, pp.197-98; this story or something similar, was repeated in England, FFBJ, 3 Oct.1845,p.3; on the tensions of expectations and doubt in 1844, Ken Greenman, 'The Waiting', a play, Spectrum, 12 no.2 (1981),26-39.
116. Bristol Mercury, 23 Mar.1844,p.8; Bath Chronicle, 12 Sept. 1844,p.3; Bristol Mirror, 2 Nov.1844,p.4; FFBJ, 11 Oct.1845,p.8; Western Times, 11 Oct.1845,p.3;
117. Plymouth DSH, 11 Oct.1845,p.4; Western Times, 11 Oct.1845,p.3.

believed the Advent preachers to be utterly sincere and free of mercenary motives. Dealtry's arguments should be fairly met. If his work led to a more anxious and studious examination of the prophetic scriptures, it would be an achievement. If his views were illusory and deceptive and likely to lead to infidelity among his disappointed followers, such pernicious errors should be immediately checked.¹¹⁸

Edward Bickersteth noted that the 'followers of Miller...[had] fallen into the error of looking for the instant coming...against which St. Paul guards us'.¹¹⁹ Walter Wood, minister at Elie, Fife, admitted that premillennial preaching might lead some to fall into the error of the Thessalonians, into which the Millerites of America seemed to have fallen, of supposing the Lord's coming to be so imminent as to warrant them into suspending all their ordinary engagements.¹²⁰ Henry Villiers, premillennialist rector of St George's, Bloomsbury, dealt with the objection that commentators had again and again settled the year of the coming, some for October 1844, others with no less confidence for 1847.¹²¹ It is not clear if these writers were aware of the English Millerites. William Anderson, interviewed by Hutchinson, was 'very warm against Mr. Miller's theory of the Millennium...he preferred even a spiritual view to that', but agreed with the Millerites on the year-day principle. He would have allowed Hutchinson to use his pulpit had it been possible that Sunday.¹²²

118. Nottingham Review, 12 July 1844, p.3.

119. Signs of the Times in the East, quoted in EAH, 12 Aug.1846, p.15.

120. W.Wood, An Affirmative Answer to the Question: Will the Second Advent of Our Lord be Premillennial? (1851), quoted in EAH, 23 Dec.1846, p.45.

121. Hope of the Apostolic Church, p.260.

122. AH, 14 Oct.1846, p.77.

Joseph Tyso, who had in 1843 requested copies of the Voice of Elijah which he would read and circulate, wrote at length to the European Herald agreeing on the premillennial advent of Christ and other important subjects. His main difference was the 'strange doctrine' that the 'Jews would never be restored in flesh and blood'. Arguing from Ezekiel 38, 39, 42, 43, and Zechariah 14, he concluded that 'The scheme which involves such incongruities cannot be of God, but is evidently invented to uphold your favourite theory of the immediate advent of Christ'. He hoped to attend the projected 1847 Advent Conference. In addition to the restoration of the Jews, the 'great questions' between Tyso and the Millerites were the year-day system and that all the signs of the second advent had been fulfilled.¹²³

George Rogers, minister of Albany Chapel, Camberwell, and himself a writer on the Revelation, published A Reply to the Advent Brethren in 1844. Preaching of the immediate coming was nothing new. Most of those engaged in the current revival were probably sincere but mistaken. Chronology was inaccurate, and far too narrow a foundation upon which to rest so important a truth. If Christ were to come in 1844, what would become of all those events, such as the evangelization of the world, to take place before the end? The argument for 1843 based on the seventh millennium was weak in chronology. A talmudic idea had been given undue prominence.¹²⁴

In their exposition of the 2300 days also, 'an opinion [was] put forward as a demonstration, and a theory as a discovery'. The

123. EAH, 23 Dec.1846,pp.47-48; 1 April 1847,p.64.

124. A Reply to the Advent Brethren with Observations on the Prophecies of Daniel, and the Present Aspect of the Study of Scripture Prophecy. The Preface explains that the first two parts appeared in a monthly periodical; pp.7-14, are on the 6000 years of the earth.

natural application of these terms was to the time of Antiochus. The Millerite interpretations of the 'daily sacrifice' and the 'transgression of desolation' were strained. The third weakness was that time is not always figurative in prophetic language. The seventy weeks were admittedly year-days, but in Daniel 8.14 the unique expression¹²⁵ 'evenings and mornings' was used.

The Millerite interpretation depended on Daniel 9 being an explanation of the preceding vision. 490 years of the 2300 days had expired at the cross and the balance plus the thirty three years of Christ's ministry appeared to reach 1843. This coincidence 'probably struck a first spark of this prophetic fire' for Miller. However, in Daniel 9 the prophet was praying concerning the seventy year captivity, not the distant future or a vision of fifteen years previous. The trouble that followed in verse 26 applied to the Jews,¹²⁶ not to the persecution of the church by pagan and papal powers.

On the numbers in Daniel 12, he admitted that the opening verses had a dual application: primarily to the tribulation of the Jewish wars, and secondly to the latter-day tribulation. He noted that the general understanding of the 1260 days was the period of papal supremacy. The events upon which the Millerites built their interpretation were comparatively unimportant. A.D.508 was chosen for the start of the 1290 days and A.D.538 for the 1260 in order to make them coterminous in 1798. None of the termini were satisfactory. 1800 represented a far¹²⁷ harder blow to the papacy than 1798.

Rogers feared 'lest the study of prophecy which can only be placed in its proper light by diligent and patient research...and by

125. Rogers, Reply, pp.7-9.

126. ibid., pp.24-33,37.

127. ibid., pp.34-41.

the concurrent testimonies of the learned and devout, should fall into disrepute, through the premature conclusions, and impatient declamations, of its own friends'.¹²⁸ Summing up, he confessed himself baffled by the Millerite understanding of the millennium as of everlasting duration. Nevertheless, they had studied the scriptures and had dared to think for themselves. He admired the boldness of the attempt to harmonize the symbols and numbers. Others claimed the prophetic scriptures were incomprehensible. Both extremes should be carefully avoided: 'the ardent and extravagant course of the one, or the cold and do-nothing condition of the other'. Rogers noted the common error of over-emphasizing recent and contemporary events. The Adventists had 'eclipsed all their predecessors, by making all prophecies concentrate in the present time'. None should be discouraged from studying the prophecies, but the real concentration should be¹²⁹ upon the brevity of human life rather than the dissolving world.

Rogers set out his own understanding of the Apocalypse in nearly 1,500 closely printed pages. The church, not the political world, is the theme of prophecy. Paganism and Mohammedanism were mentioned in prophecy only as they impinged on the church, 'but of Popery rising, extending and falling, we naturally look for an extended¹³⁰ description'.

The Revelation consisted of a preface and address to the seven churches (chapters 1 to 3), the opposition of paganism to Christianity (chapters 4 to 9), and the rise and fall of Romanism (chapters 10 to 22). The messages to the churches applied to the seven churches of

128. ibid., p.43.

129. ibid., 42-48.

130. Lectures on the Book of Revelation, 4 vols (1844,1847,1849,1851), I, 10; II, 153; Vol. I cited in AH, 20 Oct.1844,p.47.

John's time, and did not indicate consecutive historical phases of the church. The seals, trumpets and vials were successive changes effecting the church, not parallel sequences. The year-day principle should be applied when the literal interpretation did not fit. The first five vials extended from 1527, the sack of Rome, to the upheavals of 1848. The millennium would be a universal blessedness under the gospel dispensation. It was uncertain who would share the time of Christ's personal reign. At the end of the millennium the saints would depart and Satan deceive the nations. The intermediate state was conscious. As for timing, Rogers admitted that the seventh chiliad¹³¹ looked like the keystone of the arch in timing the second coming.

In February 1846 B.W.Denman wrote that he had read Southard's Morning Watch with its statement of beliefs. Miller had given fifteen proofs that there would be no more prophetic time after 1843. Dealtry and Burgess were not original, but 'mere parrots', except in the new date. Their doctrine of baptism was not Miller's, but Campbell's, another American. Denman advanced three arguments: first, that Daniel 8.14 and the seven times were misapplied by Dealtry; second, that even if they were correctly applied, Dealtry was wrong in his calculations and chronology; and third, baptism by immersion was a futile thing and not necessary to salvation. Denman had attended a meeting at the request of Burgess in order to discuss the Advent doctrine. There had been no discussion, only a 'torrent of invective, scoffs and threats, from the whole of Mr. Burgess' party at

131. *ibid*, I, 26,27,33; II, 7-13,80,156,162,167,174,177-79,183,188,206-07,211-12,235,251,261,279,283,285,290,297,315,321,347; III, 84,107,113,129,146,149-70,345,356; IV, 35,286, 299,308,321,339,343; the cry of the souls under the altar indicated the consciousness of the dead and their interest in events on earth. Rev.6.9, II, 196-98; IV, 339.

once'. Denman had a publication by Dealtry and Burgess in which they predicted the time of the second advent in every year from 1843 to 1847 inclusive. He went on to write a book against the teachings of
132
the two Adventists, both on the second coming and on baptism.

In Galashiels, Brown found that the main objections offered by many Christians in Scotland were based on Revelation 20. This sounded more convincing than the argument that the Lord could not come until more
133
railways had been built to subdue the wilderness.

The Biblical Inquirer was a paper open to various opinions, 'restricted only to the common ground of belief in the inspiration of Scripture and the deity of our Lord Jesus Christ'. It was largely a vehicle of Robert Stark, 'great apostle' of the Starkites who maintained that 'all the confusion, ignorance, sectarianism, crusades...creeds, dogmas...have been and are created by the one common mistake that the second coming is not A Past Event...By this has been engendered your Catholic and Protestant...Rationalists and Sceptics, Irvingites and
134
Puseyites, Quakers and Shakers, Southcottians and Millenarians'.

Samuel Lee, Regius Professor of History at Cambridge, was cited to show that the millennium was past. There was no earthly blessing for

132. AH, 8 April 1846, p.68; Plymouth DSH, 4 April 1846, p.4; B.W.Denman, A Word for the Season; or Messrs Dealtry and Burgess's Predictions of the Second Advent in 1847, and their Doctrine of Baptism by Total Immersion Briefly Examined and Disproved (Devonport, 1846).

133. AH, 6 Jan.1847, p.173; 9 Dec.1846, p.141.

134. Biblical Inquirer, (Exeter), 1 (1844), 2; the Starkites, a religious society, lasted from about 1830 to about 1835, their distinctive tenet being that the second advent had already occurred. Stark, formerly an undertaker, wrote an autobiography, (see Chapter I, n.53), and an Explanation or Key to the Diagram showing the Order and Course of Divine Revelation in the Scripture (1851); Biblical Inquirer, 1 (1844), 17-21, 33-36, 50-52, 65-69; 2 (1845), 204-06; R.B.M., 'Starkites', Devon and Cornwall Notes and Queries, 20 (1938-39), 185; the phrase 'great apostle' is Himes's, AH, 26 Aug.1846, p.20;

Israel or restoration to Palestine. Robert Townley, formerly minister of St. Matthew, Liverpool, and by 1846 a wine merchant in Torquay and 'chief speaker' of this group of spiritualizers, attacked the idea of the Jerusalem bishopric and argued against the end of the world and the resurrection of the body. Himes had read his book in America. Another contributor thought the last days were coetaneous with the passing of the first covenant. The resurrection had transpired in A.D.70. Nevertheless, because the subject of 'the Lord's second coming is beginning to excite peculiar interest', a prominent place was assigned to it in the magazine. The paper may have been a reaction to Millerism in the West Country.¹³⁵

Townley's meeting at the Subscription Rooms was not opened with prayer, as the sect did not favour prayer, maintaining that the present is a state of praise. Himes thought the speaker showed 'no familiarity with the desk, the Bible or the God of the Bible. A greater pedantic, a more perfect clerical coxcomb we never knew...a superficial exposition'. Townley also denied the existence of the devil and future punishment of the wicked. Some months later Burgess had a public discussion with Stark, where before a very orderly and attentive audience, the 'decision was left to everyone's judgment

135. Creation to Christ 5411 (using the Septuagint chronology) plus 1845 came to 7256, so the seventh chiliad was over, Biblical Inquirer, 1 (1844), 27-28; 2 (1845), 168; CEQR, 14 (1843), 449-54; John Humphrey Noyes concluded about 1833 that the second coming took place in A.D.70. John McKelvie Whitworth, God's Blueprint, A Sociological Study of Three Utopian Sects (1975), p.91; Theol. & Lit. Jnl., 3(1850-51), 262-87; Robert Townley, The Second Advent... a Past Event, considered in its relation to the Doctrine of the Apostolic Succession, the Restoration of the Jews, the Resurrection of the Dead, etc. (1845). AH, 26 Aug. 1846, p.20; Biblical Inquirer, 2 (1846), 220; 1 (1844), 58-60; 1 (1844), 3. W.B. may be William Barker, the Millerite; in the Millerite view spiritualism or spiritualizing rested on the assumption that God says one thing and means another, EAH, 20 Nov. 1846, p.40.

without show of approbation or otherwise'. Micklewood felt that the Adventist view of truth received by far the greatest respect and sympathy. An infidel went home, burned his books, and was now
136
reading the Bible and Second Advent works.

After a series of Millerite lectures, John G. Childs, Anglican minister of St Paul's, Stonehouse, was asked to reply. He stated that the two published sermons were intended for Advent, but were now issued earlier 'in consequence of the strange and unscriptural doctrines propagated in the neighbourhood'. He attacked postmillennialism, but 'visionary enthusiasm and rash speculation' had brought into disrepute the premillennialism he defended. Some, against Scripture, had assigned dates, others had 'entered into curious disquisition concerning the nature of that kingdom and dispensation'. Was Childs here fighting on two fronts, against Millerism and some other opponent, possibly the Starkites? The national church might fall and popery come in. Already there had been too many defections from the faith. Himes believed that Childs had not in fact heard the Millerite lectures and had produced a
137
tract supporting the Adventist thesis.

John Hooper, whose Present Crisis had been republished in the Second Advent library, replied to a letter from Himes, thanking him for the Advent Herald. Hooper had just completed another book, a Word in Season, proving incontrovertibly that the coming was imminent. 1847 was the end of the 2300 days, assuming that calendar dating was correct. The Lord might come before 1847, and one should speak with diffidence about the exact year. There were many intervening steps in the ad-

136. AH, 26 Aug. 1846, p. 20; EAH, 1 April 1847, p. 63.

137. John Glynn Childs, The Scriptural Doctrine of the Second Advent of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ (1846?), pp. 11, 16, 18; AH, 5 Aug. 1846, p. 205.

vent. Christ would appear to his church first and accomplish his purpose to it before being revealed to the world. Many of the great events attending the advent had been considered as taking place simul-¹³⁸
taneously, whereas they would be fulfilled consequentially.

Louis Gaussen, the opponent of neology and Romanism, thanked Himes for the books, including the well-written tract on the chronology of the Bible. He promised to read the Advent Herald with attention. He was endeavouring to enlighten himself on the future, for he had studied Daniel, Ezekiel and the Revelation almost exclusively as fulfilled prophecy. He asked Himes's opinion of David Brown's The Second Coming. 'The enterprise of the American Adventists to enlighten their European believers on a question so grave as the second appearing...is very commendable, even though it were only on the ground of Christianity and
¹³⁹
Christian union.'

While one newspaper argued that the challenge of Burgess and Dealtry to public debate should be met, another writer thought it best to let these gentlemen work out their own end. Robert A. Purdon, editor of The Last Vials, debated with the Millerites in the Town Hall, Devonport, where two thirds of the audience were converts of Dealtry. A Mr Bennett, named as chairman by the audience, was 'an evident partisan of the Latter-Day Saints'. Dealtry opened the debate by praising Purdon for coming forward, and abusing the clergy who had refused. Dealtry's argument for the 1847 advent was based entirely on Daniel 8 and 9, where he 'exhibited a degree of assurance and self-sufficiency that was lamentable to behold'. Purdon argued that it was

138. AH, 2 Dec.1846,p.133; Hooper, The Present Crisis, considered in relation to the hope of the glorious appearing (1830, Boston,1842); idem, A Word in Season (1844).

139. AH, 2 Dec.1846,p.133.

the height of folly to predict the time of the advent. Each speaker was allowed twenty minutes, and when Purdon had finished, Dealtry announced that he 'would very soon decently bury him'. Dealtry's supporters appear to have hissed Purdon and applauded their champion. There does not appear to be a report of the debate from the
140
Millerite standpoint.

A pamphlet was being sold in Devonport, and as Burgess understood, men were being employed to sell it all over the country. It gave an account of Dealtry and Burgess visiting Bristol, Exeter, Taunton, and other places preaching the second coming for October 1845. The tract was meant to disillusion the deceived and warn those who had not heard. Dealtry had based his calculations on Daniel, 'a book full of mysterious and all but inexplicable enigmas' and on Revelation, the obscurities of which 'have baffled the efforts of the wisest and most learned men in all ages to unravel'. The writer of the tract had attended four lectures and considered Dealtry not a scheming impostor, but was 'highly gratified with his piety, learning, eloquence and fervour... powerful talents'. The writer was 'all but certain, that Dealtry was
141
wrong in his prediction and in his views on baptism'.

William J. Spry of Devonport debated with Dealtry on the 2300 days in October 1845. A subsequent tract, otherwise disagreeing with Dealtry, concluded that the argument ended in the total defeat of Mr Spry. B.E. Esterbrook, Calvinist Baptist minister of Devonport, gave a
142
series of lectures against the opinions of Dealtry and Burgess.

140. AH, 8 April 1846, p.67-68; on Purdon, a prolific writer, R.B.M., 'By a Clergyman', Devon & Cornwall Notes & Queries, 15 (1928-29), 284.

141. VTGT, 3 Dec. 1845, p.545. This was possibly the article 'The End of the World' following the letter from Burgess cited.

142. Plymouth DSH, 11 Oct. 1845, p.3; see Bibliography for list of books by Spry; Esterbrook, Plymouth DSH, 21 Feb. 1846, p.1.

Wilson's The Time of the End, a British Israelite paper, wrote to the American Brethren, commonly called Adventists or Millerites, recognizing a common interest in prophecy. It was noted that many were called native Americans, though mainly of British origin. This is the main indication that the article is addressed to British Millerites. They had been right in many of the prophetic dates, but wrong in what would happen. They were also right in disallowing the claim of mere national Jews to the inheritance promised. They had made a noble stand against the Judaizing interpreters. However, they had failed to consider Ephraim and his brother, the tribes which were broken off. Just as the threatenings had been fulfilled to Israel, so would the promises of restoration. The true Israel, as the Millerites recognized, were those 'who, in this the time of the end, constitute the great body of true believers...you are right in the people, but wrong in their supposed origin'. The midnight cry should be understood as a command to go forth to Jerusalem to meet the bridegroom. The everlasting gospel had not yet been preached, but must be preached 'after the election of Israel, the 144,000, to Mount Zion'¹⁴³.

For a small movement the Millerites in Britain had succeeded in making a rather wide range of contacts. Ridicule was inevitable, but they were taken seriously by some important premillennialists. With the departure of Himes, Hutchinson, and Brown there were very few left who seemed to know how to make their influence felt among the better educated.

143. Time of the End, Jan.1845,p.27.

CHAPTER VII

SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS BACKGROUNDS OF THE MILLERITES

1. Social

Bryan Wilson considered that Millerism and similar movements could appeal to only the economically underprivileged section of the community. Even here they found only a small following. However, in the case of those movements that have been studied, the appeal was to an aspirant class¹ rather than to the very poor. The social structure of groups analogous to the Millerites contained a high proportion of the lower classes, but not the abjectly poor, with a lower middle class minority which helped to provide leadership and financial support. John Townley, a bricklayer with his own house, joined the Shakers in England followed by his wealthy brother-in-law. The general composition of the group was millhands, mechanics, housewives, and servants. The Southcottians attracted a cadre of the educated, including, at the early stages, some Anglican clergy.²

David King, the Campbellite leader, noted the social difference between leadership and members. There was a lack of gentlemen and scholars, and the leadership was dominated by the tradesmen and small manufacturers. King's view is confirmed by Billington's analysis of those who led, financed, and organized the sect. In 1848 the Radford congregation of Campbellites was 'from the humble walks of life'. This group may have contained ex-Millerites, or perhaps be the Millerite group with a new allegiance.³

1. 'Social Aspects', p.1179.
2. Andrews, People called Shakers, p.13; Harrison, Second Coming, p.112-18; Oliver, p.199.
3. Billington, 'Churches of Christ', p.30; Gospel Banner, I (1848), 198; compare n.17 below.

Alexander Kilham's agents, mainly in the North and Midlands, included three merchants, a country banker, a schoolmaster, a farmer, a butter factor, three shoemakers, two hosiers, two saddlers, a potter, a skinner, a cooper, and a plumber.⁴

British Millerite accounts tended to emphasize that people of all classes attended their meetings. That important word 'respectable' appeared in descriptions of the audiences. At Kelso, the assembly rooms at the hotel 'filled with all classes, among whom were ministers, editors, etc., etc.'⁵. Much newspaper comment was hostile and stressed the low class of persons who packed into Millerite revivals, 'gullible dupes' of 'designing men',⁶ though the sympathetic Nottingham Review⁷ emphasized that the audience was 'respectable and attentive'.

Winter's Bristol meeting in March 1844, as reported, certainly sounded very noisy, with 'unnatural and horrible excitement', and shouts for mercy. This was proof of the 'morbid, almost diseased state of feelings among the lower classes in England, who ruined by ranting preachers, are incapable of appreciating a pure and temperate precept of a true religion'. The masses needed their 'temporary insanity...This comes of field preaching, tent preaching, room preaching - the crowding together of masses of ignorant, undisciplined, but excitable natures'. There was a nod in the direction of 'the respectable portion of Dissenters', and a warning to them not to thwart the Church, in its 'wholesome and dispassionate effort to render the population soundly religious'.⁸ Another paper saw the only remedy as the 'spread of sound

4. Ward, Religion and Society, p.37.

5. EAH, 10 Oct.1846,p.29; AH, 14 Oct.1846,p.77; 9 Dec.,p.141.

6. Western Times, 11 Oct.1845,p.3; Western Luminary, 2 Sept.1845, p.3; FFBJ, 2 Nov.1844,p.3; for Dealtry's hold on the poor, Western Times, 6 Sept.1845,p.2.

7. Nottingham Review, 17 May 1844,p.8; 24 May,p.8.

8. Bristol Times, 23 Mar.1844,p.3.

knowledge among the multitudes...by a liberal and extensive system of
⁹
 education'.

The converts, wrote a critic, 'belong to that class who are ready to run after any "new thing" and will easily swallow the greatest absurdity provided it be properly spiced with some quotation from the sacred record'. By contrast, Himes spoke of many 'good and substantial
¹⁰
 brothers'.

Millerite congregations depended on lay elders for leadership, with the occasional visit of one of the full-time itinerants as an additional blessing. Only after 1845 were there resident pastors, at Plymouth and Exeter. The leaders of the congregations are known through references in Millerite papers and their earthly occupations can sometimes be traced. Even where names are known, they do not always appear in directories since many of these covered only limited sections of the population. Mobility of population and lack of addresses make use of census records difficult. The nearest thing to a membership roll is the list of subscribers to Burgess's farewell sermons in 1851. These subscribers may not all have been from the Plymouth-Exeter area. Very few of them
¹¹
 can be identified with any measure of certainty. Some persons are known mainly because they acted as agents for Millerite papers. Here it was natural to choose a shopkeeper. The fact of stocking Millerite papers did not make a person a Millerite. James Begg, who was sympathetic to millenarian ideas, wrote to American Millerite papers, and sold

9. Besby's Devonshire Chronicle, 9 Sept.1845,p.4.

10. Plymouth DSH, 11 Oct.1845,p.3; AH, 26 Aug.1846,p.21.

11. Farewell Discourses, pp.35-36.

Millerite tracts in his Paisley bookshop, was not a Millerite.

The Millerites succeeded in interesting some of the gentry. Charles Stoodley of Tiverton was friendly and hospitable, as was Captain Wellesley, 'favourite nephew' of the Iron Duke. Stoodley gave fifty pounds for literature distribution. G.R. Paul of Worthing was of independent means, the owner of a chapel where Bonham preached in 1851. He spent much of his property and nearly the whole of his time in preaching and sustaining meetings. It is not clear if he is the same man who appears¹³ intermittently as a preacher in Ireland, London, and Plymouth. Hutchinson preached in the drawing room of Mrs Baynes, widow of the general he had known in Canada. 'Bertie's Mother', a pious authoress living in Bromborough, Cheshire, was a reader of the Advent Herald and the Advent Shield, and used the Millerite Harp hymnal. She and Bertie's sister Emma were baptized in 1850, but Emma found life dreary, wishing to follow her dead playmates. Poor Emma lost her mother in 1851. Although 'on the brink of her dissolution' (Bonham's phrase), the poetess wrote a fourteen hundred word defence of premillennialism in reply to a distinguished Scottish minister who had disagreed with the views in The Last

12. PFF, III, 560-64; IV, 937-40; ST, 16 Sept. 1840, p.174; 15 Oct., p.166; 1 Dec., p.136; 15 Dec., pp.139-40; 1 April 1841, p.3; 15 Feb. 1842, p.174; 13 April, p.10; 20 April, p.18; 27 April, p.25; 4 May, p.33; 11 May, p.41; AH, 14 Oct. 1846, p.77; 20 Feb. 1847, p.188; Advent Review, 10 Jan. 1866, p.49; Time of the End, May. 1845, p.61.

13. AH, 11 July, 1851, p.174; Paul, a native of Londonderry, was 'doing a little' in Dublin in September 1843. Early in 1846 one of that name, 'a singer of the Gospel', joined Winter at Uckfield. Paul was working in Ireland in mid-1846 and arrived in London to give an account of the work. In November 1846 he was working in London, and still active in April 1847. One of that name preached in Plymouth in 1848 and was presumed to hold 'Age to Come' views, ST, 18 Oct. 1843, p.66; Mount House Chapel, np; AH, 16 Sept. 1846, p.44; 23 Dec., p.157; 10 Feb. 1847, p.5; 8 May, p.109; AHBA, 15 Jan. 1851, p.373.

Hour and The Blessed Hope, tracts with which she had supplied him.

The Millerites whose occupations have been traced comprise four persons of independent means, a doctor, a Baptist minister's wife, a dockmaster, an assistant secretary in the Custom House, and a goods depot superintendent on the railway, a lead pipe manufacturer, a printing works proprietor, two farmers, one of them described as yeoman in his will, the other known to have been fairly prosperous, two proprietresses of schools (three if the two Tanner sisters in partnership are counted), a book-keeper, a hairdresser, seven shop-keepers, not counting booksellers who were possibly only agents for publications and not believers, six artisans, including a shoemaker, a carpenter, a blacksmith and two tailors.¹⁵ This may be compared with the more detailed social profiles given in Chapter IX for Mormons and Christadelphians. The absence of record keeping by the Millerites has resulted in only the names of the most prominent being preserved in printed correspondence. The profile is likely to be distorted by under-representation of the poor.

The Millerites felt their poverty. Himes contrasted 'the pecuniary ability that the mass have' in America with the situation in Britain.¹⁶ In the Piltdown congregation some families had a sufficiency of this world's goods, though most were poor. The Second Advent society in Nottingham in 1848 was 'not composed of the rich and influential'.¹⁷ Brother and sister Evans of Blackwall, London, never regretted their poverty so much as when they heard the advent preaching, wishing they

14. Day Star, July 1847,p.196; Dec.,p.332; May 1850,p.138; AH, 6 Jan. 1847,p.173; 10 Mar.,p.37; 26 Jan.1850,p.206; 9 Mar.,p.46; 20 April, p.94; 11 July 1851,p.174; 6 Sept.,p.238.
15. Compiled mainly from the Ambassador, AH, EAH, and directories.
16. AH, 26 Aug.1846,p.21.
17. AH, 2 Sept.1846,p.29; Roberts, Thomas, p.159.

were able to contribute.

By 1846 Curry was exhausted financially and could send only one pound, 'which I have succeeded in collecting from a few friends here towards paying for the books...I wish I could assist extensively...but my resources are limited, and because I cannot do what I would, I feel troubled'. Richard Robertson, probably a more recent convert, offered ten guineas to keep the European Herald in being. The 'friends in Birmingham' sent ten shillings, all they had in the fund. Vanderkiste had spent nearly one thousand dollars in reprinting American books, although it is not clear if he ever recouped his outlay from sales. The Tanners gave two to three thousand pounds for American reprints. The only other large sum traced was forty-five pounds given to Winter for literature in 1843.¹⁹

Another indication of Millerite social structure is that, although Burgess designed one penny tracts to be read by the labouring classes who had neither money to purchase nor leisure to read the bigger books, and most of the literature cost no more than threepence, by 1847 he advertized volumes by such authors as Bickersteth costing up to six shillings.²⁰

Too little is known about British Millerism to ascertain the sort of support it gave to its members. Gilbert noticed a falling off in chapel membership when the chapel failed to provide the looked-for social support, was by-passed by new agents, or ceased to appear socially necessary.²¹ The Millerite groups may have lacked social cohesive-

18. EAH, 1 Sept.1846,p.22.

19. AH, 4 Mar.1846,p.30; VTGT, 3 Dec.1845,p.545; EAH, 1 Sept.1846, p.22; 10 Oct.,p.30; ST, 17 May 1843,p.84.

20. Modern Phenomena...Signs of the Times, p.49; idem, Evidence from Scripture, preface.

21. 'Nonconformity', p.205.

ness once the imminent parousia failed to occur. The attitude of mind needed to join a society expecting the end at a particular date was rather different from the patient waiting for an event which was near, yet could not be dated. Few could live in such extended eager anticipation of imminence as Philip Gosse.²²

2. Religious

Data is even scarcer on the previous religious affiliations of the Millerites. In Chapter VI it was shown that not all who embraced Second Advent views left their churches. The Campbellites provided a recruiting ground in Nottingham and Brighton. Around Nottingham the Millerites seem to have been confused with the Ranters, the derogatory term for the Primitive Methodists, and in Bingham to have drawn believers from that group. At Hawick and Selkirk Independents accepted.²³ Curry and A.B. England were already interested in the second advent before reading Millerite literature. Richard Robertson had been a follower of Elias Carpenter, a disciple of Joanna Southcott. Robertson dropped his distinctively Southcottian beliefs while still retaining an interest in the end of all things. His brother William had preached the advent for about forty years by 1855.²⁴

William Henry Solomon, an assembly worker in a woodwork manufactur-

22. Gallagher, 'Believing Christ's return'. pp.280-85; Chapter VIII, n.164.
23. On Nottingham see Chapter IX, n.56; on Brighton see chapter X, n.16; Nottingham Review, 5 July 1844,p.5; Nottingham Journal, 5 July 1844,p.3; on Bingham see Chapter IV, n.231; AH, 25 Nov,1846,p.125; 6 Jan.1847,p.173; Billington mentions a group of about thirty recruited from the Campbellites at Hawick, 'Millerite Adventists',p.202. The writer has not been able to verify this; six months later the Hawick Adventists were in 'deep trial', EAH, 1 April 1847,p.62.
24. AH, 29 July 1846,p.196; 30 Oct.1847,p.103; 15 May 1858,p.159; 29 May, pp.174-75; 27 Nov.,p.382; on Elias Carpenter, Harrison, Second Coming, pp.92,94,124-27,135,158; Oliver, p.177.

ing shop, was born in Truro in 1828, and attended Anglican and Methodist Sunday Schools, his only formal education. He joined the Second Advent Church after hearing Dealtry, when he was but a small boy. Dealtry's visit to Truro was in 1846, and so 'small boy' may be a rationalization for what was later considered a mistake in joining the Adventists. He became a Mormon.

Burgess, Hutchinson, John Kitchen, a Reading grocer, the Lloyds, Micklewood, Shaw, and Winter were Methodists, although of what division is not known in some instances. No Anglicans are known to have accepted Millerite membership in the 1840s, but in 1850 Mr Cartwright from Leeds, formerly connected with the Church of England, was a travelling salesman and preaching the advent.

3. Training and Financing

The British Millerite preachers were not highly educated, and lay preaching was the only professional training of the majority. Winter, Himes, Hutchinson, and Brown were ministers before becoming Millerites. Both Bonham and Gunner were 'young men, who had been accustomed to labour with their hands'. Dealtry emphasized the need of 'able and educated' lecturers. A sympathetic American Millerite notice of a book by Burgess thought 'its diction may not attract the learned'. This was either a comment on Burgess's style, or the audience to which he addressed himself.

Twenty-three men and two women are listed as Millerite missionaries.

25. Note by Malcolm Thorp from LDS Archives, Salt Lake City, to the writer.
26. References given under individual names in Chapter IV.
27. AH, 26 Oct.1850,p.310.
28. AH, 4 Feb.1846,p.205; EAH, 23 Dec.1846,p.48; MC, 28 Nov.1844, p.170.

Biographical details are known for thirteen of these. In the case of some men who were known to be lecturing in a neighbourhood, it is not clear if they were itinerant, full-time preachers, or laymen using their free time. Names appear for a few weeks or months and then are lost, presumably having discontinued their work.

There are no records of what remuneration a Millerite itinerant received. An evangelist of the London District Association of Campbell-²⁹lites was paid nine pounds, fifteen shillings a quarter in 1848.

In America the itinerant Millerites were sustained by living on their savings, the sale of publications, and calls for contributions through the periodicals. When they travelled to a new place they paid their own expenses until friends of the cause were raised up to help them. It is possible that Winter's American congregation assisted his³⁰ passage to England. At a Millerite gathering in brother Lloyd's home, the subject was raised of support for American lecturers should they come to Britain. Several in the meeting promised that the missionaries would not lack money or bread. However, Routon was sure that the English believers could not send any money for American lecturers, since all the funds went in 'scattering the publications'. By July 1844 he himself for lack of means had been compelled to accept a situation in the school of a Baptist minister who advocated the speedy advent. Barker ceased travelling and worked as a railway time keeper to support³¹ his family.

The itinerant depended on hospitality and did not find much in

29. Bible Advocate, 3 (1849), 97.

30. E.N.Dick, 'Adventist Crisis', p.47; in 1850 Bonham thanked Himes for a box of books as they would aid him in the expenses of his tour, AH, 20 April, p.94; Lambert MS, p.1.

31. ST, 18 Oct. 1843, p.67; MC, 22 Aug. 1844, p.54; AH, 25 May 1850, p.134.

England or Scotland, which compared unfavourably with America, though there were some pleasant exceptions such as the Stoodley home, James Scott's home, a merchant in Galashiels, and the minister of an Evangelical Union chapel. A fruit seller to whom Hutchinson spoke offered him two pears, the only hospitality received all day. Curry, on his preaching trips in the Liverpool area, spent nights in humble homes or in the open air. Refusal of lodging was one way of showing opposition to the Millerites, and some may have feared that to open their homes would bring trouble on themselves from neighbours.³² Barker travelled for nine months without taking collections and Winter took no collections in Bristol in the tradition of such men of faith as George Brealey. Burgess travelled without purse or scrip, but had been provided for. He paid thirty shillings a week for his hall in Exeter, but did not receive half that in collections. After hearing a discussion on Burgess by two Anglican clergymen, the proprietor reduced the rent to one pound. Burgess did not have to warfare at his own charge as the Lord had raised up friends.³³ Hutchinson's collection at Paisley met nearly half the cost of the hall. Brother Cochran paid the rest. At Galashiels the pennies in the plate at the Assembly Room paid all the expenses and helped forward the missionaries on their journey. The Hawick meetings had become self supporting. Hutchinson had not grown rich, but had food and raiment.³⁴ Dealtry charged an admission fee to his lectures to defray expenses. At twopence or threepence a head from a full house he should have more than cleared his rental. From the balance he had to pay for handbills and other free literature as well as his own living expenses.

32. AH, 29 July 1846,p.196; 12 Aug.,p.5; 14 Oct.,p.77; 4 Nov.,p.101; 9 Dec.,p.141; 6 Jan.1847,p.173; MC, 8 Feb.1844,p.219.

33. MC, 28 Nov.1844,p.170; Wellcome, p.538; AH, 5 Aug.1846,p.205.

34. AH, 4 Nov.1846,p.101; 12 June 1847,p.152.

Hostile comments naturally suggested that the preachers were making a³⁵ profit.

Money was perennially short. The work at Reading was 'greatly limited, if not almost entirely defeated', for lack of money to hire a hall. It seemed 'as though the kingdom might be shaken if we could put our hands upon the money'. The professing church had enough wealth, rightly used, to shake the gates of hell. There was a feeling that some of the more prosperous Adventist believers were not generous to the cause. The generosity of the poor was noticeable.³⁶ The Americans would do their part, but only in partnership with the British. Himes sent twenty pounds to meet bills in England in 1847, but found it 'a heavy draft'. In 1848 Bonham was short of money to sustain himself in³⁷ Leeds, despite the success there.

It is difficult to know how much the English Mission cost the North Americans. Hundreds of dollars went from the Adventists of Canada East for overseas work and Hutchinson saw the good results in Scotland in³⁸ 1846. Early in 1846 Himes noted that the money raised for the English Mission had been used otherwise, but he brought over publications worth over one thousand dollars. A later report stated that he sent³⁹ works valued at three thousand dollars before the visit. Funds came in slowly. Between August and November 1846, two hundred and ninety dollars were receipted, an average of fourteen dollars fifty cents a week. By the end of June 1846 expenditure was twelve hundred and seven dollars and receipts five hundred and eighty-two of which five hundred had come from the Advent Herald. In 1847 Himes reported his plans for

35. See handbill at the end of this chapter.

36. AH, 26 Aug.1846,p.21.

37. EAH, 1 April 1847,p.61; AH, 2 Sept.1848,p.39.

38. Brief Statement of the Facts, pp.23,27.

39. AH, 4 Feb.1846,p.204; EAH. 12 June 1848,p.84.

another visit to England which would cost between five and ten thousand dollars. Even at the best rate achieved, seventy-six dollars in one week, five thousand dollars represented high hopes, ten thousand a fantasy. The fund finally ceased to be mentioned, but does not seem to have been wound up.⁴⁰

The Millerite lecturers in Britain, apart from the American Mission of 1846, carried no credentials and there seems to have been no congregational system as among the Campbellites. As Micklewood expressed it, 'I did not feel any need for formal ordination, as I saw no place where it could have been obtained'.⁴¹ Himes, himself ordained, noted critically a Baptist preacher's statement that 'a call to the ministry consisted in having the disposition, the means, and the opportunity to preach', without formal ordination. Himes leaned more 'towards the notions of Episcopacy' where he was eventually to end his spiritual migration, as did Bonham.⁴² The Nottingham Midnight Cry pointed out that the editors were not responsible for the individual conduct of lecturers or believers. Two of the lecturers had turned Mormon and a third 'given some cause of suspicion and contempt'. The editors rejected association with such people.⁴³ This shows the threat posed by the better organized Mormons, and the ease with which certain minds moved from one form of radical belief to another. The obscurity of some of the Millerite lecturers is demonstrated by the fact that the names of the apostates are not known. An itinerant Disciple wrote of his discouragement.

40. AH, 24 June 1846, p.160; 13 Jan. 1847, p.181; 10 Feb., p.8; it was brought into credit in March with five hundred dollars from the Herald, AH, 24 Mar., p.56; seventy-five dollars were sent to Hutchinson in May, AH, 15 May, p.120.

41. AH, 17 Mar. 1847, p.48.

42. AH, 11 Nov. 1846, p.109.

43. MCN, 3 Aug. 1844, p.48.

I am often thinking of stepping over all differences and essaying to join myself to the other Baptists; for as we move on I fear we misrepresent rather than illustrate true Reformation, being more apt to find fault with others' work than to labour ourselves.⁴⁴

The last word on working in England is from the durable Bonham.

Imagine yourself...travelling from city to city ... alone, with no settled home or certain resting-place; in some of which you may perchance be viewed as an imposter, be looked on with suspicion or pointed at as you pass along the streets...with every pulpit door closed against you.

That was the human aspect. However,

other pulpits will be opened, and other ministers will receive you cordially; and then, in addition, the truths we proclaim are Divine, our master, Christ, and the battle the Lord's.⁴⁵

44. Bible Advocate, 2 (1848),79.

45. AH, 10 July 1852,p.223.

ASSEMBLY ROOMS.

LOW PAVEMENT.

THE
2300 Days of Daniel.

MR. DEALTRY

WILL DELIVER A

LECTURE,

(D.V.)

**TO-MORROW EVENING,
THURSDAY, MAY 9TH, 1844,**

AT THE ABOVE ROOMS,

ON THE

8TH CHAPTER OF DANIEL.

The Questions for discussion after the Lecture
to be confined to the following subjects:—

Does the Bible reveal the TIME of Christ's
second advent?

Do the 2300 days refer to that event?

TO COMMENCE AT EIGHT O'CLOCK.

Admittance 3d., to defray Expenses.

[R. SUTTON, PRINTER, NOTTINGHAM.]

CHAPTER VIII
THE TEACHINGS OF THE BRITISH MILLERITES

1. The Bases of Understanding

It has already been shown that most of Miller's premises in the scriptural interpretation were common currency at the time. The difference between Miller and 'the students of prophecy' was not so much in the methods as the conclusions and the positiveness with which the conclusions were asserted. Millerism in the United States was never a monolithic movement, although focused on one doctrine. The Millerites were slow to adopt credal formulae. Their dislikes of creeds and sects grew as opposition arose and they themselves were in the process of becoming a sect. Miller himself drew up a set of beliefs, but this was a personal creed, not even completed. No attempt was made to urge it¹ upon his followers and it was probably not printed during his lifetime.

He wrote fourteen rules of Bible interpretation. All scripture may be understood by diligent application and study. The scripture must be its own expositor. All the scriptures on the topic to be studied must be brought together and every word allowed to have its proper influence. If the expositor then formed a theory without contradiction he could not be in error. If a word made good sense literally then it should be so understood. Figures always have figurative meaning and this meaning could be found by tracing all the usages of the figure until the explanation was given. For an historical event to be a true fulfilment of prophecy, it must agree in every word. The most important rule of all was that the interpreter must have faith. This statement was printed in

1. Sandeen, pp.57-58; ST, 20 Mar.1840,p.8; Bliss, Memoirs, pp.77-80; PFF, IV, 466-67.

2

the second number of the Harbinger. In the next issue the editors explained their mode of studying the prophecies, an application of Miller's rules. Almost all the figures used in prophecy have a literal and metaphorical meaning. For example, a beast literally symbolized a kingdom; the type of beast metaphorically indicated the type of kingdom, good or bad.³ After all usages of a particular word had been traced by a concordance, and compared, then 'let every word have its own Scripture meaning...and your theory will and must of necessity be correct'.⁴

As prophecies of past events, for example, the life of the Saviour, had received an exact and literal fulfilment, the same could be expected of prophecies of the future.⁵ Some prophecies are typical, partly fulfilled in the type, but completely only in the antitype. Examples of this are found in prophecies of Israel, and dual aspects of Matthew 24. Time would provide proof or disproof of the Adventist interpretation.⁶

The Millerite lecturers in America were from a wide variety of background, over two thirds being formerly Methodists or Baptists.⁷ The two main papers, Signs/Herald and Midnight Cry/Morning Watch, published a range of views, sometimes giving space to opponents of basic Adventist teaching. In general, however, the urgency of the situation, the dangers inherent in controversy, and the diverse backgrounds of the Millerites led to the publications concentrating on a rather narrow set

2. SAH, 26 Mar.1844,pp.9-10; printed in extenso in Damsteegt pp.299-300, and Harrison, Second Coming, pp.200-01.
3. SAH, 2 April 1844,p.17.
4. SAH,p.18.
5. SAH,p.18.
6. SAH,p.19.
7. Methodists 44.3%, Baptists 27%, Congregationalists 9%, Christians 8%, Presbyterians 7%, Episcopalians 2%, Dutch Reformed 1.5%, Lutherans 1%. Friends 1%. Based on a study of 174 lecturers. E.N.Dick, 'Crisis of Adventism',p.233.

of topics. Such issues as the seventh-day Sabbath, conditional immortality, and the correct mode of baptism were raised from time to time, but the editors felt that it was unwise to pursue side issues.⁸

What the British Millerites taught can be learned from their periodicals, from their books and tracts, and from reports, friendly and hostile, of the hearers. One difficulty with the British Millerites is to know how much was copied from American publication without much thought. Scissors and paste were freely used. This study will assume that the editors showed their opinions by the items they selected from America and by their own signed articles and editorials. These teachings, with necessary references to the parent movement, will be considered under the headings: statements of belief, sermon series, and then the varied topics of conversion, baptism, holy communion, life after death, the 'shut door', the sanctuary, the last things, signs and wonders, time setting, and interpretation of contemporary political events.

2. Statements of Belief

In the absence of a creed, the Millerites issued statements that summarized their distinctive beliefs. The 1842 Synopsis of Miller's Views, widely distributed in both America and Britain, listed sixteen points. Jesus Christ will come again to the earth, and will receive the eternal kingdom. The saints will then possess the kingdom for ever. At the second coming the body of every departed saint will be raised, the righteous living changed and caught up with the dead and presented to God blameless. He will deliver his children, conquer their last enemy, and deliver them from the power of the devil. When Christ comes he will

8. ST, 1 April 1841,p.3; 6 April 1842,p.5; Damsteegt,p.83.

destroy the bodies of the wicked by fire and shut up their souls in a pit of woe until the resurrection unto damnation. When the earth is cleansed by fire Christ and his saints will take possession of the earth and dwell therein forever. God has revealed the time when this shall be accomplished, between 21 March 1843 and 21 March 1844.⁹ Like much Millerite writing it assumes its readers are acquainted with the facts of salvation.

More succinct were the five 'Fundamental Principles on which the Advent Cause is Based'. These principles, which first appeared in the Signs in May 1843, seem first to have reached the British reader (apart from readers of the American periodicals) through the Harbinger and Nottingham Midnight Cry.

1. The Word of God teaches that this earth is to be regenerated in the restitution of all things - restored to its Eden state...and is to be the eternal abode of the righteous in the their resurrection state.
 2. The only Millenium [sic] found in the Word of God is the eternal state of the righteous in the New Earth....
 3. The only restoration of Israel yet future is the restoration of the saints to the New Earth, when the Lord...shall come, and all His saints with Him.
 4. The signs which were to precede the coming of our Saviour have all been given; and the prophecies have all been fulfilled but those which relate to the coming of Christ, the end of this world, and the restitution of all things.
 5. There are none of the prophetic periods, as we understand them, that extend beyond the Jewish year 1843, which terminates this
9. Bliss, Memoirs, pp.170-72;

10

spring (1844).

These five principles are the common core of Millerism, avoiding divisive peripheral issues. There are some shifts of emphasis as compared with the Synopsis. The second fundamental dealt with the millennium, unmentioned in the Synopsis. The 'controversy of Sion' was shown to apply to spiritual Israel. The date for the advent was less definite than in the Synopsis, leaving room for different understanding of the 'Jewish year 1843'.

The Harbinger published a Synopsis of Our Views, which is rare among Millerite statements in discussing original sin, 'the salvation of all who receive the grace of God by repentance and faith in the mediation of Jesus Christ', and belief in the Father and the Son. The personality of the Holy Spirit is not mentioned. Although presented as the views of the editors, the statement is William Miller's with minor editorial changes. It is a piece of homespun theology, which, premillennialist eschatology apart, would have been acceptable to a wide range of denominations in nineteenth century America or Britain. It is noteworthy that this American statement, drawn up by the Baptist William Miller, omits baptism by immersion, which his unpublished creed specifically avows. Side-issues must be avoided.

The first number of Himes's European Advent Herald listed ten principles the paper would advocate. This is 'post-Albany' Adventism, in which time-setting was discouraged. Accordingly the second coming is stated to be 'near as indicated by the prophetic periods', the fulfillment of prophecy and signs of the times.

10. ST, 10 May 1843, p.73; SAH, 26 Mar. 1844, p.9; MCN, 17 Aug., p.57.

11. SAH, 21 May 1844, pp.76-77; J.V.Himes, Views of the Prophecies and Prophetic Chronology; Selected from Manuscripts of William Miller (Boston, 1842), pp.32-35.

12. EAH, 1 July 1846, p.7;

A longer statement of what may be called the Herald or Albany form of post-1844 Adventism was given in the address from the General Conference at Boston 26 May 1846. This was concerned with combatting error and stating truth concerning the advent. It was wrong to apply advent prophecy to the destruction of Jerusalem, to past or future manifestations of the Spirit, and to the postmillennial advent. The general period of the advent had arrived, as shown by the succession of empires, the history of Mohammedanism, the signs given in the gospels, literally or symbolically understood, and the state of the church, the political, moral and social world. The kingdom of God is to be established on earth with Christ as the 'visible head and Governor'. Despite some strong scriptural evidence cited in its favour, probation after the advent was rejected, as was the restoration of literal Israel. This is far removed from the rigid chronologies and calculation of 1844 and earlier.¹³ Bonham substantially reprinted the address about 1850.

The last known official Millerite statement of belief printed in England was the address of the American Committee on the English Mission addressed to the brethren and fellow-labourers in England, Scotland, and Ireland in 1848. David Widdowson, a Nottingham Millerite, in a letter to Thomas, listed the beliefs of the New Radford congregation, including 'the promises to Abraham to be fulfilled at the resurrection, at the appearing of Christ, the millennial reign of Jesus and the Saints'.¹⁴

About the end of 1848 the British Millerite movement fragmented. Accordingly, statements issued in Britain in or after 1848 have to be checked for source and content to determine which strand of the frayed-out movement is represented.

13. EAH, 1 July 1846, pp.1-6; Address to the Churches on the Premillennial Advent of the Saviour, with Declaration of Principles (1850?).
14. Roberts, Thomas, p.159.

In 1851 Burgess recapitulated the leading doctrines he had taught for the almost six years he had spent in Plymouth. The Adventists 'agree with the generality of Christians, in reference to the fall of man, his present mortal state, and the first coming of the Lord Jesus Christ'. (Romans 8.3,4 quoted).¹⁵ Nevertheless, he had seen it as his first duty on coming to Plymouth to eradicate from the mind of his hearers the erroneous idea of the conversion of the world, the thousand years of millennial glory before, that departed saints enter into their inheritance at death, that the wicked are tormented from the moment of their death until judgment day and are then sent back to suffer greater punishment through myriads of years.¹⁶

He quoted a Letter to Everybody which had been distributed at the opening of the Second Advent chapel in 1848. The first paragraph dealt with the Fall. The second showed that every man by nature is sinful, therefore mortal, incapable of recovering himself, but he is a candidate for immortality through the sacrifice and resurrection of Christ, whose life and ministry are outlined. The Letter mentions the Virgin Birth and the High Priesthood of Christ, though not discussing the latter. The third section indicated the condition of salvation through repentance towards God and faith in Christ. When the word has been received, the believer should put on Christ by baptism. Baptized believers should walk according to Titus 2.13, a text showing present duty and the future epiphaneia.¹⁷ This was the sole reference to the advent in the statement.

Burgess then looked at the false teachings, quoted earlier, claiming that the 'notion' that the saints go to heaven at death 'robs the

15. Farewell Discourses, p.28

16. ibid., p.28.

17. ibid., pp.29-30.

resurrection of its glory and deters believers in such a theory from receiving the gospel of the kingdom'. The punishment of the wicked was made 'explicit' in such texts as Ezekiel 4.17 and 18.4.¹⁸

Having cleared the ground of false doctrine, Burgess set out the texts which refer to future events. Christ's second coming to the earth will be 'really personal, glorious and visible'. The first thing to be restored will be the king and kingdom to Israel, with all nations subject to them. Israel is not defined, but was not limited to the Jews, as 'the kingdom is appointed to us...on condition that we overcome the present evil world'. There may have been a hint here of British Israelism, which Burgess had imbibed from John Wilson. That literal Palestine was meant was emphasized by mention of its area and location. Burgess himself was apparently going to have a preview of his inheritance, as the occasion of the farewell sermons was a visit to the Holy Land.¹⁹

In 1850 'Adventist' published a tract on the first resurrection and second coming. The title page showed some interest additional to earlier Millerism. The first resurrection is the hope of the righteous, and believers looked for the glorious appearing, when they are rewarded. The first heaven, earth and world were before the flood, the second will end at the judgment day, when the third begins and all things are made new. The universal everlasting kingdom of Christ on earth succeeds the universal supremacies of Babylon, Persia, Grecia, and Rome at the time

18. ibid., pp.30-31.

19. ibid., 32-34; Wilson's The Time of the End, Jan.1845, p.28, advocated emigration to Palestine in preparation for future glorious events.

of Christ's second coming.

Believers obtained immortality at the resurrection. Adam 'was neither mortal nor immortal, but simple unmingled life'. Man became mortal by sin, Adam dying within the day, that is, 1000 years. The 'life to come' begins at the resurrection. The scriptures teach that the soul is mortal. Plato and Pope Clement V taught the contrary, and purgatory became 'more gainful than heaven and earth'. Luther included the doctrine of the immortal soul among the 'monstrous opinions to be found in the Roman dunghill'. The dead are unconscious, and the spirit does not live after the body, nor did it live before the body. The Spirit of God is the only agent of the resurrection of the body, and Almighty God the final judge of the dead. Jesus Christ will execute the final judgment. As the door of the ark shut a week before the flood, so the door of mercy would shut, as intimated by the silence in heaven for half an hour (Revelation 8.1).²¹

The world will not be converted. Neither the destruction of the wicked nor the resurrection of the saints represent the conversion of sinners. Faith in the doctrine of the resurrection is a means to salvation.²² Repentance or conversion must precede remission of sins.

The rest of the tract dealt with the meaning of 'ever', pantote, Hades and Gehenna, unquenchable fire, the undying worm, the Pit, and the final judgment of the wicked by burning. An interest in the identity of

20. Importance, pp.3,4. The identity of 'Adventist, can only be guessed at. A possible author is William Barker, who once lived in Goole, EAH, 23 Dec.1846,p.48; Burgess listed twenty-three signs of the 'end' all of which are included in 'Adventist's' list of twenty-four. Numbers one to fourteen are in the same order in both lists, with one exception. The remaining numbers do not correspond, though most of the discrepancies are caused by the insertion of an extra item in 'Adventist's' list, Burgess, Modern Phenomena... Signs of the Times,pp.46-48; Adventist, Importance, pp.15,16.

21. Importance,pp.4-7.

22. ibid.,pp.7-9.

the devil and Satan appeared in some sections of post-disappointment Adventism, and is reflected in four and a half pages, 28% of his space, given to the topic by 'Adventist'. He seems not to have been influenced by the Age to Come theory, but conditionalism had become for him second only to the advent. He was potentially a member of the Advent Christian Church, although that body had no formal representation in Britain until²³ the 1860s.

3. Sermon Series

Sermon titles and synopses give a picture of the topics presented by the Millerites in series of meetings. In March 1844 Micklewood gave what he called 'the order of our lectures'. The statement does not make it clear if this is a list of sermon topics to be followed in sequence, or themes to be covered. The purpose of the personal and visible second coming, shown to be near by the ending of the prophetic periods, was to judge the world, reward the saints, and punish the wicked with death. The time could be known and both postmillennialism and the return of the Jews were unscriptural. The 'five fundamentals' are covered, but the time element is softened by omitting any date. A significant addition²⁴ is the requirement of baptism by immersion. The Campbellite Christian Messenger summarized Dealtry's message in the summer of 1844 as baptism²⁵ for the repentance of sins and the return of the Lord in September or October. A 'clever and interesting lecture' was given by a minister from America, 'showing the fallacy...of the doctrine that the Carnal

23. ibid., pp.9-15; compare J.B.Cook, 'Origin, Agency and Doom of the Devil', AHBA, 7 July 1849, p.17; J.Turner, 'The Existence of the Devil', 8 Dec.1849, p.195; H.Jones, 'Existence of the Devil', 22 Dec. 1849, p.209; G.Needham, 'Existence of the Devil', 17 Jan. 1852, p.241, the first of Needham's five articles on the subject.

24. SAH, 16 April 1844, p.40.

25. CM, 8(Aug.1844), 414.

Jews will be restored to Palestine, or converted as a body'. This seems to have been the opening theme for Dealtry and Micklewood's series, but it may be merely the first lecture to be reported.²⁶ Micklewood spoke on the events under the sixth and the seventh trumpets. The seven churches, seals, trumpets, and vials should be treated as concurrent,²⁷ not consecutive.

Dealtry lectured on the 2300 days. Jerusalem, and especially Mount Zion, was the sanctuary. The period would expire with the Jewish civil year 1843, which terminated in September 1844.²⁸ Dealtry's next reported lecture was on the fall of the Ottoman Empire, giving Litch's argument for the termination of Turkish independence on 11 August 1840, a topic touched on by Micklewood.²⁹ This argument never appears in any later reported sermon by British Millerites, although the exposition was not discredited by the events of 1844. Dealtry set out eight propositions, all based on Daniel 8 and 9, to show that the advent would come in the seventh month. Although the propositions are not sermon titles or heads, they indicate the arguments Dealtry was likely to use.³⁰

In Plymouth in 1845 the same team lectured from the prophetic chart on the fall of the papal power at the hands of Napoleon. There was a public debate on the 2300 days and addresses on baptismal regeneration and conditional immortality. Next year they stressed the 2300 days, the 'seven times' or 2520 years, and baptism by immersion.³¹

At the beginning of the mission to England Himes announced that the

26. Nottingham Mercury, 3 May 1844,p.2; Nottingham Review, 3 May 1844,p.4.
27. ibid., 17 May 1844,p.8.
28. ibid., 24 May 1844,p.8. He also lectured on this topic at the Assembly Rooms, 9 May.
29. ibid., 7 June 1844,p.8; see section 13 of this chapter for a discussion of Litch's prediction.
30. MCN, 31 Aug.,p.80.
31. Plymouth DSH, 4 Oct.1845,p.3; 11 Oct.,p.3; AH, 8 April 1846,p.67.

visitors would lecture on the blessed hope, the first resurrection, an exposition of Daniel 2 and 7, the 'little horn' or papacy, Daniel 8.13,14, Daniel 11 and 12, Matthew 24, the restoration of Israel, the territorial inheritance of the saints, the throne of David, the kingdom of God, the restitution of all things, the two covenants, the practical bearing of the advent faith, the purification of the earth by fire, and
 32
 the great preparation.

At Hawick Hutchinson's afternoon lecture showed that the advent is 'the great pole star of our hope, the temporal millennium a delusion... and the world's conversion a splendid phantom'. This 'ruffled up the people's minds and set them thinking and talking' so that the hall was crowded for the evening meeting on Daniel's vision. The series continued with 'the nature of the kingdom', the periods of Daniel and John, Matthew 24, the promises to Abraham, and the restoration of all things.
 33
 Believers were baptized on the last day of the series.

A reporter from the sympathetic Border Watch summarized Hutchinson's six lectures in Edinburgh. He began with the visions of Daniel, giving a very interesting historical outline of the scriptural and prophetical history of the four great monarchies, the second coming as the next great event. There could be no millennium of peace until after the advent. In another lecture he proved that all the saints will be raised at the first resurrection. The lecture on the prophetical dates showed that the periods were almost ended, with the 2300 days probably ending in 1847. Jerusalem and the sanctuary must remain desolate until the advent. The concluding lecture was on the restitution of all

32. EAH, 1 July 1846, pp.6-7; compare Wellcome, p.543.

33. AH, 25 Nov.1846, p.125.

34
things.

The most complete series of sermons are sequences by Burgess at Plymouth. In 1847 he listed twenty-one predictions of the first advent and their fulfilment and twenty-three signs of the times which had a special fulfilment within the last sixty-six years. The sixty-six years are probably dated from 19 May 1780, the 'Dark Day'. The signs included the progress of the gospel (1,2,5,13), natural phenomena and disasters (11,22), religious blindness (6,7,8,9,10,12,20,21), economic and social problems (3,4,,), fulfilment of time prophecies (14,15,16,17,18), modern inventions in travel, notably railways (23), and political unrest (19).³⁵

Evidence from Scripture and History showed the manner, the certainty, the object, and the evidence of his coming. Parousia is always used in the New Testament of an actual appearing or coming. The object is to raise and gather his saints in the air, destroy the wicked and set up a glorious reign in the earth cleansed by fire. The evidence from scripture and history was based on Daniel 2 and 7.³⁶

In his A Discourse 'On the Kingdom of God', Burgess showed that Adam and his race forfeited the kingship of the earth. Jesus Christ was the second Adam. The whole world was under Gentile control for the period of the seven times, the times of the Gentiles. Burgess was one of the few Millerite writers to deal with the nature of Christ,

his uncreated eternal nature...possessed of a self existent living principle, distinct from the blood of Adam...The natures were blended in one, and yet distinct...At the cross Christ laid down his life derived from Adam, eternally. The King then, is a perfect human being, the Son of Man, and the Son of God: now possessed of flesh and bones, but not of blood.

34. Quoted in EAH, 1 April 1847, p.62; 20 Nov.1846, p.40; AH, 14 Oct.1846, p.77.

35. Modern Phenomena...Signs of the Times, pp.45-48.

36. See Chapter V, n.15.

He is the promised heir of David, and his reign will be visible and personal in the metropolis of Jerusalem above.³⁷

Burgess taught the doctrine of the three earths and heavens, creation to the Flood, to the second coming, after the advent, and showed that the glory would shortly be revealed. 'Adventist' may have borrowed from Burgess or used a common source.³⁸

The history of ancient Babylon was a type of the mystical evil city, not only the Roman power, but every power opposed to Christ's coming to reign. Burgess proceeded to show what the city of Jerusalem once was, what it was in his day, and that it would be the joy of the whole earth. He rejected the idea of literal earthly Jerusalem being the focus of a restored earth, although New Jerusalem would be in Palestine.³⁹ Refuting postmillennialism, he boldly ventured into Ezekiel 39, finding England, France and Germany there, an interpretation uncommon among Millerites.⁴⁰

The two Witnesses of Revelation 11 were in sackcloth from 538 to 1798, and France was the spiritual Sodom of Revelation 18.8. Bible societies and other missionary activities were a fulfilment of the revival of the witnesses.⁴¹

Burgess insisted, not surprisingly, on the duty and necessity of

37. pp.4-11. This was the first of a series which included the last trumpet, the restitution of all things, the first resurrection, the New Jerusalem and the new earth, Gog and Magog, Plymouth DWJ, 7 Sept.1848,p.3.

38. Six Discourses...relating to the Second Coming...,paginated separately...On the Glory of God.

39. Six Discourses...On the History of Ancient Babylon and its typical relation to the present time: and Ancient Jerusalem in its typical relation to the present state of the church, and the city to come, October 8, 1848,pp.4-6; Evidence from Scripture,pp.10-11.

40. Six Discourses...On the Character, History, Death and Burial of Gog and Magog, pp.6-11.

41. idem,Six Discourses...On the Two Witnesses,pp.6-10.

42

searching the scriptures. In 1850 he spoke of the danger of being spoiled through philosophy and vain deceit. Fearing that much important instruction was lost to the uneducated, 'through the derivation or true meaning of the leading texts not being explained', he sought for the future to remedy that defect in his public ministration. He therefore explained his terms before proceeding further.

43

A further six discourses described the real nature and tendency of the Papacy, and showed the importance of believing the word of the Lord. He planned a subscription series on Bible characters: Adam, Eve, Abel, Cain, and Enoch for the first five discourses. An edition of six hundred a week was required to meet all costs and sell at one penny a copy.

44

In his three farewell discourses in 1851 Burgess spoke on true Christian baptism, on the importance of frequent communion, and an affirmation and recapitulation of the doctrines taught at the Second Advent chapel, Plymouth.

45

A survey of the above and the rest of the sermons by Burgess shows that while the second advent is still central to his preaching, he developed other interests, and that Daniel 8 and 9 had ceased to be the predominant prophecies in his thinking.

4. Conversion and the Gospel

The sensational nature of the Millerite message, and the history and mathematics used to sustain the position, especially concerning

42. On the duty and necessity of searching the Scriptures with Rules to make them easy of comprehension (np.,1846).

43. On the danger of being spoiled through Philosophy and Vain Deceit (Devonport,1850),p.3.

44. ibid., preface; Substance of Discourses on...Adam,Eve,etc. (np.,nd.).

45. Farewell Discourses.

time, may have tended to obscure the 'gospel'. Millerites dwelt so much on Christ's coming because the doctrine had been neglected for a century.⁴⁶ They were not preaching just the advent, but also conversion. However, a statement of 'What is necessary to meet the Lord in peace' listed six points of preparedness, but did not mention conversion as such. It was apparently addressed to believers, to inspire them to greater exertion.⁴⁷

The preachers recognized that profession was not enough. 'The doctrine must be taken to heart with a living power, to understand its power.' A conviction from fear alone led to early apostasy. Even if the Millerites were mistaken about the time, souls were being converted. Barker noted people who had been 'awakened and hopefully converted, who did not belong to any religious denomination, and many who did, have embraced the doctrine of the Advent'. It was claimed that hundreds of sinners were converted, and thousand changed from nominal to holy and devoted Christians. At Piltdown some of the new believers had formerly been sinners, not just good churchgoers.⁴⁸

Himes and Brown emphasized the need to preach salvation by faith, the cross, and the crown. They noted that some feared that preaching the advent would lose sight of salvation.⁴⁹ The Christian Messenger had already seen this trend in Millerism, though their contention may have been mainly directed at the failure to view baptism in a Campbell-

46. ST, 15 April 1841, p.13.

47. ST, 16 Aug.1841, p.76. The supporting texts were: (1) Luke 21.36; (2) I Thess. 3.12-13; (3) I Thess.5.16-23; (4) Titus 2.11-13; (5) I John 2.28,29; 3.1-3; (6) II Peter 3.10-14.

48. AH, 2 Oct.1844, p.48; MC, 22 Aug.1844, p.54; 28 Nov., p.170; SAH, 14 May, 1844, p.68; AH, 2 Sept.1846, p.29; Alan F.Crowe considers that salvation in Christ was a far more important component in Millerism than fear, though that did exist. 'The Balance of Fear and Joy in the Millerite Movement' (unpublished term paper, Andrews University SDA Theological Seminary, Fall 1979), pp.23,28.

49. AH, 6 Jan.1847, p.173.

lite light. Benjamin Beddome Junior had sometimes felt that Himes and his brethren 'were more anxious to preach and propagate your views of the Advent, then you were to proclaim and enforce the saving truth of the gospel itself'. He hoped he was in error on this, but urged 'repentance towards God and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ' as 'the first consideration'.⁵¹ When hearers asked Dealtry what they should do to be

saved he replied in the words of Acts 2.38. Micklewood's 'Love of God to Man' discussed the nature of that love, the Spirit bearing witness with our spirit, and how we become children of God. The imminence of the kingdom, the consummation of God's love, made conversion especially urgent. D.B.Wyatt, who may have preached in England, stated 'we are born again in Spirit and become sons of God when we believe in Christ'. He urged upon a correspondent that 'the merit of the atonement is enjoyed by faith...the gift of god'.⁵²

There was a perfection and entire sanctification movement within American Millerism, which in some instances developed into fanaticism,⁵³ but Millerism was not generally a perfectionist movement. Himes in 1846 urged the believers to be

engaged in every good word and work...to seek out the perishing, and the lost, and by every gospel means bring them to Christ...the drunkard be helped to sobriety, by a persuasion to total abstinence...by example and precept. Let us plead the cause of the oppressed...Remember the poor, and educate the ignorant...Finally, let us bear a faithful testimony against national and social sins.⁵⁴

50. CM, 7(June,1844),302.

51. AH, 16 Oct.1847,p.87; 23 Oct.,p.94.

52. Micklewood, SAH, 16 April 1844,p.40; MCN, 3 Aug.,pp.41-43; 10 Aug.,pp.49-52; Dealtry, 24 Aug.,p.72; the same paper had printed 'An appeal to the Unconverted, and 'You cannot repent too soon', in the issue of 27 July,pp.35-37; Wyatt, VTGT, 11 Feb.1846,p.46.

53. AH, 31 May 1844,p.104; Nichol,pp.505-08.

54. EAH, 13 Aug.1846,p.16.

5. Baptism

The form and theology of baptism became live issues in the eighteenth century, with the Methodists raising the question of the relation of baptismal regeneration to conversion. In the Church of England, the issue was raised again by Richard Mant in his Bampton Lectures of 1812. The question of baptismal regeneration was linked to the issue of adult, or believer's baptism, as opposed to infant baptism. Those who practised believer's baptism normally used immersion rather than sprinkling.

Baptism was not mentioned by the Millerites as one of their fundamentals, and acceptance into the movement in the United States did not require re-baptism by immersion or other form. However, a move among the Millerites towards believer's baptism by immersion may be said to have lain in the logic of history with a restorationist search for primitive usages.

Froom suggests that in October 1844, just before the expected day, Millerites of Methodist, Congregational, and Presbyterian backgrounds hastened to baptism by immersion. Their old denominational links broken, they sought a distinctive entry into the new koinonia and coming kingdom. This is hard to quantify, but is consistent with the desire of the Millerites to seek all means of grace to be fully prepared for the advent.

The Times wrote that [American] 'Millerites seem to consider immersion necessary to salvation. They repudiate sprinkling'. It is interesting that this rather uncertain

55. John Hunt, Religious Thought in the Nineteenth Century, p.178; John Baillie, Baptism and Conversion (1964), pp.23-25, 29, 38-40.

56. Midnight Cry referred to many enquiries as to the correct mode of baptism, but sought to keep out controversy. The precise mode of baptism was not the real issue, stated the editor, MC, 26 Sept.1844, p.91.

57. PFF, IV, 543, 545, 639, 824; AH, 17 July 1844, p.187.

side of Millerite teaching and practice should have attracted notice.

When Himes visited England in 1846 he spoke of baptism as 'an ordinance quite universally observed among the Adventists in America'. He thought the Irvingites confessed themselves papists by regarding sprinkling as baptism 'and equivalent to regeneration'. The Herald dissented from a tract on infant baptism, but argued that if infant baptism is defensible on historical grounds, so is the advent. Baptism as a general practice among the Millerites may have been more true in 1846 than in 1842, when most of the expatriate British missionaries had received their instruction. Repentance and desire for baptism were taken as signs by the numbed survivors of 1844 that God's grace was still working to win the unconverted. The views of American Millerism on baptism still await research.

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Winter does not mention baptism as doctrine or practice. In 1843 he evangelized large areas and may not have felt baptism appropriate to the occasion, leaving it to the ministers of the churches to which converts would attach themselves. On the other hand, failure to mention baptism may have been just an omission in reporting. Late in 1845 or early 1846 Winter baptized one hundred in the space of three or four weeks, and then baptized at Uckfield in 1846.

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Micklewood and Dealtry were influenced in their views on baptism by conversations with James Wallis, the Campbellite, in Nottingham. Micklewood's views came to differ from those of Wallis, and there was considerable correspondence on the subject in Campbellite papers.

58. The Times, 31 Oct, 1844, p.5.

59. AH, 12 Aug. 1846, p.5; 23 Sept., p.54; 25 Dec. 1847, pp.161-64; Damsteegt, p.110, n.46, n.47, p.111; W.H.Hessel, Seminary Librarian, Andrews University, in a letter to the writer, 16 Sept. 1980.

60. Micklewood, letter 25 Feb. 1846, in AH, 8 April 1846, p.67; Lambert MS, p.2.

Micklewood discussed baptism in his Midnight Cry, dwelling at length on it as it had been so long neglected. Emphasizing immersion, he saw water as the mother out of which the believer's birth takes place. Faith is as essential to baptism as to salvation, and therefore 'infant baptism is unscriptural, and sprinkling an utter perversion. Salvation is not promised to faith alone, neither to baptism alone, but to faith⁶¹ and baptism'. The design of baptism is clearly shown in Acts 2.38 as⁶² 'FOR the remission of sins'.

Wallis claimed that the Millerites were not teaching 'the doctrine⁶³ of salvation in the remission of sins, by an immersion in water'. Was Wallis using the term baptism in a Campbellite sense, or suggesting the Millerites did not immerse? Benjamin Beddome Jr wrote to Micklewood as editor of the Midnight Cry, regretting that he and Dealtry became 'indoctrinated with the Campbellite heresy on baptism, a most mischievous delusion'. Micklewood replied that he did not believe Campbell's view to be heretical. He deserved credit for his teaching on this subject. Micklewood believed man receives nothing from baptism, itself considered, yet his hope, his Christian character, his salvation, is imperfect without it. He concluded that the preaching of the gospel, faith, repentance, baptism, the Lord's supper, a holy life are all for the remission of sins. 'Thus the links in the chain are equal, and all⁶⁴ necessary'.

Wallis called this a 'tirade of words', and offered Micklewood

61. MCN, 3 Aug., p.43.

62. MCN, 10 Aug., pp.49-50; compare CM, 8(Aug.1844),414.

63. CM, 7(June 1844),302; on the Campbellite doctrine of baptism see A.C.Watters 'History of the British Churches of Christ' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Edinburgh, 1947), p.89

64. CMFM, 2(1846),529-30. Beddome, Manchester, drysalter and paper warehouse proprietor, possibly descendant of his namesake, 1717-1795, DNB.

space in the next issue of the Messenger to prove his position from scripture. Beddome, a follower of old father McLean, was counselled to lose sight of Campbell and himself and concentrate on the biblical doctrine of baptism.⁶⁵

Beddome wrote again to Micklewood asserting that 'Baptism is for the remission of sins certainly...but if you assert that our sins are remitted by, or in, or because of, or on account of, our baptism, then I...call your doctrine heresy'.⁶⁶ Wallis asserted that there is no ordinance of the gospel for the remission of sins to a penitent sinner except baptism. Micklewood acknowledged his debt to Campbell while in Nottingham and repeated his argument that the means of grace were 'con-joint' and links in the chain. Beddome stressed that baptism was 'just the door of entry ... no more than an ordinance'.⁶⁷ Micklewood took the medium position between Beddome and Campbell. He feared that Wallis laid greater stress on baptism than the other duties of Christianity. The baptismal candidate must be an enlightened, believing penitent, and his life after baptism must accord with his profession. 'The remission of sins is a blessing consummated only in immortality' at the resurrection or change at the advent. Wallis gave a parting shot. 'Brother Micklewood is so continually looking at the second coming ... that he can scarcely see anything in the Bible, that is not intended to bear on this important topic.' Micklewood was still defending believer's baptism in 1862.⁶⁸

The New Radford Adventists were so convinced of the necessity of

65. CMFM, 2(1846),530; Archibald McLean,DNB.

66. CMFM, 2(1846),559-60.

67. CMFM, 2(1846),560-64; 3(1847),35-40; EAH, 1 April 1847,pp.63-64.

68. CMFM, 3(1847),125-31,184-85; Gospel Banner, 2(1849),14-17; The Gospel of the Kingdom of God, including a letter to James Pugh (London,Plymouth,1862).

baptism that when they heard that Himes had not been baptized they prayed for him to be enlightened. He was able to reassure them that he had been immersed before some of them had been born.⁶⁹

Burgess compiled quotations on baptism and concluded that 'those who neglect water baptism, after their minds have been enlightened by the Spirit of God, are abusing one of the institutions of Christ'. He did not discuss the relation of baptism to remission of sins.⁷⁰

'Adventist' placed in order the necessity of faith in the resurrection of Christ, the necessity of repentance or conversion preceding remission and blotting out of sins, and thirdly, 'the necessity of Baptism in water literally', obedience to which is a means unto remission of sins. The last British Millerite pamphlet known to have been printed in Britain before the return of American missions ended on a strong affirmation of what appears to have been general practice.⁷¹

Millerite believers were not expected to undergo a long period of indoctrination before baptism. The ceremony was often held after a week or less of meetings. The believers could have had little more than a sketch of the teachings.⁷²

6. Holy Communion

The Millerites celebrated the Lord's Supper, but do not seem to have discussed its significance. Apparently it was assumed that this was a non-controversial topic so axiomatic among Christians that there was no need to mention it as part of the Adventist teaching. Silas

69. AH, 18 Nov.1846,p.117.

70. Farewell Discourses,pp.15,30.

71. Adventist, Importance, p.9, Discussion of baptism continued among some of the successors to Millerism, Storrs, N.M.Catlin, and J.B.Cook, AHBA, 15 Oct.1853,p.142.

72. MCN, 6 July,p.24; 3 Aug.,p.48; 31 Aug.p.88; AH, 26 Nov. 1845,p.127.

Hawley gave two lectures in favour of open communion and this seems to have been Millerite practice. An article in the Signs discussed open or restricted communion, but the editors regretted its appearance. They thought there was no 'time to be lost or Christian charity to be destroyed by meddling with that bone of contention'. The issue of closed communion by Adventist groups does not seem to have been raised by Storrs, Fitch or Marsh, despite their strong 'come-outerism'. Himes⁷³ noted the exclusiveness of the Plymouth Brethren. Since most of the Millerite groups in Britain did not have an ordained minister to celebrate the service, presumably local elders were so empowered, in line with the practice in similar groups. Foot washing and the holy kiss or kiss of peace, which were prevalent among some post-October 1844 Adventists,⁷⁴ are not mentioned in British Millerism. The only known examples of Millerite teaching on the sacrament are Burgess on the importance of frequent communion, and a letter from Hutchinson.

Burgess referred to I Corinthians 11.23-26 and condemned transubstantiation. The blood of the atonement was the essence of the institution. The service was a type of the marriage supper of the Lamb, a beautiful rainbow, one end resting on the cross, the other on the crown. As only Israelites ate the paschal feast, so the New Testament feast is exclusively for the friends of Christ. In view of the fact that Burgess baptized people without particular regard to their church affiliation, it is clear that he is speaking here not exclusively of Millerites. He asked why the service was so neglected by believers. If through a sense

73. Reply to Elder Knapp: Open communion in opposition to restricted communion maintained (New Bedford, MA, 1842); ST, 22 June 1842, p.94; 31 Aug., p.169; AH, 19 Aug. 1846, p.13.

74. Both practices were denounced by the Albany statement. Footwashing as a preparation for Holy Communion has remained among Seventh-day Adventists. The Maundy Thursday service and presentation by the monarch is a vestige of a more widespread primitive practice.

of unworthiness, was this due to a secret determination to indulge in secret sins or pleasure? This made one in every respect unworthy. On the other hand, a realization of sinfulness, fear of dishonouring God and disgracing the believers, made one 'a fit subject'. It was necessary⁷⁵ for Christians to attend communion (John 6.53).

Hutchinson explained the sense in which we eat the body and drink the blood of Christ. They represent the food to be eaten in the kingdom of God. As 'we eat man's money when we eat his bread', so we shall eat the body and drink the blood of Christ in the kingdom, 'in as much as we shall eat and drink that which cost his body and blood. We do this now by faith'. He hoped to write an article on the subject, feeling it was⁷⁶ not generally understood.

7. Man After Death

Geoffrey Rowell believes that the Augustinian remoteness of the last judgment, and the proximity of death, led to emphasis in the Middle Ages on judgment at death at the expense of judgment at the last day. As an unnamed nineteenth century writer asked, if the souls of the departed are in heaven or hell, according to their deserts, what need was there of a final or second judgment? What pleasure could a spirit find in leaving the beatific vision to return to earth for a millennium,⁷⁷ and what advantage, after heaven, could a body afford? The millenarian emphasis on the last judgment might make the immortality of⁷⁸ the soul of less consequence, to state Rowell's principle conversely.

Edward H. Bickersteth, whose father was quoted by the Millerites

75. Farewell Discourses, pp.18-26.

76. AH, 16 Dec.1846,p.149.

77. Hell and the Victorians (Oxford,1974),pp.22-24; Froom, CFF, II, 249-50.

78. R.P.L. in Gospel Banner, 2(1849),313-14; Rowell, Hell, p.182.

for his premillennialist views, in his 'rambling' work, Yesterday, Today and Forever (1866), hinted at an eschatology in which the problem of hell was overcome by the annihilation of the wicked. The link between his views and Millerite conditionalism must be very tenuous and improbable.⁷⁹

To some the question of the natural immortality of man needed to be settled on grounds of eschatological tidiness, others saw eternal punishment as pointless and inconsistent with a good and loving God, while others again saw viewing the torments of the damned as part of the satisfaction of the saved. And eternally burning hell was seen as a strong social and moral sanction. 'Could it be satisfactorily proved that future punishments are not eternal, what dreadful consequences would ensue'. The teenage Ellen Harmon feared 'that sinners would gather serenity from this belief, and never desire to seek the lord'. Dislike of the doctrine of eternal torment was a factor in the conversion of some to Mormonism.⁸⁰

George Storrs, a Methodist minister, read Henry Grew, a conditionalist, about 1837, was convinced, and in 1842 published six sermons on the question of natural immortality. Charles Fitch, a Congregationalist minister, Presbyterian, and from about 1838 a Millerite, accepted Storrs's view in early 1844 as did Calvin French, a Freewill Baptist minister, also a Millerite.⁸¹ Storrs and Fitch were strongly opposed by Miller and other Millerites, notably Josiah Litch, a Methodist, who

79. The book had 17 editions by 1885, Rowell, Hell, p.6.

80. Evangelical Magazine, 9(1801),432, quoted in Orchard, p.63; compare Rowell, Hell, p.29; White, née Harmon, Life Sketches, p.49; Thorp, 'Mormon Converts' pp.55-56; LDSMS, 12(1850),153.

81. CFF, II, 300-14; Moses Corliss Crouse, 'A study of the doctrine of conditional immortality in nineteenth century America, with special reference to the contribution of Charles F. Hudson and John H. Pettingel' (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Northwestern University, Evanston, IL, 1953); PFF, IV, 533; compare Wellcome, p.517.

published the short lived periodical Anti-Annihilationist (1844) as an
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 antidote. The standard Millerite position is summarized by Johnson:

Early Millerites held to immortality of soul and eternal suffering of the wicked, yet they rejected teaching of rewards at death and emphasized the final judgment day and giving of rewards at that time and not before. They held to a conscious or subconscious intermediate state in which the righteous were moderately happy, having a clear assurance of coming salvation and reward, and the unsaved were in some misery...but for neither class was there any full, definite and final retribution until the Second Advent of Christ.⁸³

The April 1845 Albany statement skirted round the issue and can be read
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 in a conditionalist sense.

The state of the dead does not seem to have been much discussed by British Millerites in 1844. The Harbinger believed in 'endless torment'
 85
 and 'everlasting burning'. However, Micklewood's exposition of the souls under the altar (Revelation 6.9) showed that the altar is the whole earth, therefore 'under the altar' means the grave. Conscious souls could not be under earth. After definitions of 'soul' and 'hell' he concluded, 'man is unconscious as soon as he dies until the resurrection'. He did not join in the correspondence on the subject in Campbellite papers, but in 1862 again taught the unconscious state of the dead. He may have considered the intermediate state of minor importance
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 and therefore did not stress it except in the examples quoted above.

82. Miller, MC, 23 May 1844, p.355; CFF, II, 308; 'Mr. Miller was opposed to it, yet he said little except to give caution. Elders Litch, Himes, Hale, Brown, Galusha, ...Gunner, Bonham...and others condemned it as an innovation and sought to avert the discussion of it.' Wellcome, p.515. But Miller did list arguments against the doctrine of annihilation and the soul's unconsciousness in death in his Apology, after the October 1844 disappointment, Bliss, Memoirs, pp.333-34.
83. Johnson, Advent Christian History, pp.152-53.
84. Bliss, Memoirs, pp.301-04.
85. SAH, 21 May 1844, p.76.
86. MCN, 31 Aug., p.78-79; 7 Sept., pp.84,87; Gospel of the Kingdom, pp.24-27; one possible source of Micklewood's conditionalism is George Storrs. The MCN published two of his articles, though nothing on conditionalism, 29 June, pp.14-16; 17 Aug., pp.57-61.

Gunner accepted Storrs's view in 1842 and held it for seven years.⁸⁷ However, he did not promulgate it in the Harbinger. Burgess and Dealtry were preaching unconsciousness in death in the Plymouth and Exeter area. In 1845 'they were completely puzzled by questions put to them on the destiny of the soul immediately after it left the body, and at length refused to enter into any discussion of the subject'.⁸⁸ J.B.Cook, some of whose work was circulating in England by 1844, was a conditionalist by 1847.⁸⁹ In his 1851 farewell sermon, Burgess argued that man is not only sinful and mortal, but in a mortal state, though a candidate for immortality, and he objected to the teaching that the saints receive their crown directly after death. The spirit returns to God, but has no capability of thinking, speaking, or acting. Annihilation was the final fate of the wicked, at a time still future but not specified. Burgess did not explicitly teach the unconsciousness of the dead in this sermon, but this is clearly implied from the texts cited,⁹⁰ as they are the usual items in the conditionalist armoury. In the debate on article IX of the Evangelical Alliance principles of faith, Hutchinson moved to delete the phrase 'the immortality of the soul' as unscriptural, but was not questioning the sentiments intended to be conveyed. Himes had refuted a statement by Doctor Cox of New York that after the disappointment the followers of Miller had gone over to the doctrine of the destruction of the wicked. The issue was to become

87. AH, 22 May 1858, p.166.

88. Plymouth DSH, 11 Oct.1845,p.3; 'denied the Divine Essence, and said this could not be supported from the Bible...', Trewman's Exeter FP, 4 Sept.1845,p.3; FFBJ, 11 Oct.1845,p.8 'repeal of future punishment...', Plymouth DWJ, 19 Feb.1846,p.4.

89. The true source of immortality (Hartford, CT,1847).

90. Burgess, Farewell Discourses, pp.29,31.

increasingly prominent and devisive among the American Millerites.

W.B. (not otherwise identifiable) wrote against soul sleep in the Gospel Banner. A letter to Ellen Tanner, the Millerite school teacher, dismissed her disbelief in 'the separate state'. Unaided, without a knowledge of the original language, she could not find the truth. Miss Tanner, in reply, after quoting scriptures in proof of her position, agreed that she was satisfied, in his phrase, 'to slumber as inanimate matter', until the first resurrection.⁹²

R.P.L. raised problems concerning the conscious state of the dead, the millennium, and final judgment. He felt that stress on going to heaven was obscuring the doctrine of the resurrection.⁹³ Elizabeth Tanner replied to R.P.L., showing that 'soul' does not mean a disembodied spirit, and disposing of the rest of his difficulties. H.S.J.Newark took it for granted that the soul or spirit of man does not die with the body. There is no second judgment, but one general judgment at the last day, which will have more to do with the body than the soul. 'It follows that the soul or spirit is individually judged on the death of the body'. The editorial comment dwelt on the inadequacy of Elizabeth Tanner's reply and was clearly in favour of consciousness in death.⁹⁴ The Tanners may have learned their conditionalism from Burgess and Dealtry. The Gospel Banner continued to discuss the state of the soul in death, finding the topic devisive.⁹⁵

Thomas, who also published in the Banner, was a conditionalist, and this presented another disruptive factor in his difficult relation with the

91. Evangelical Alliance. Report of the Proceedings of the Conference ...1846 (1847), p.165; AH, 30 Sept.1846, p.60; 16 Dec., pp.149-50; JBF had discussed 'Immateriality and Immortality' in CMFM, 2(1846)24.
92. Gospel Banner, 2(1849), 171-73; possibly William Barker, compare Biblical Inquirer, Sept.1844, pp.58-59.
93. Gospel Banner, 2(1849), pp.313-15.
94. ibid., pp.337-39.
95. ibid., 3(1850), 84-89, 141-44.

Churches of Christ. The editor closed the correspondence by referring⁹⁶ to writings by Alexander Campbell which settled the matter.

Bonham specifically opposed annihilation in an 1848 sermon preached at Exeter. Beddome considered discussion on the topic unprofitable, there being no certainty. The British Prophetic Herald, which in some aspects agreed with the Millerites, discussed the location, state and prospects of the dead, the present heavenly state, the millennial and⁹⁷ postmillennial. The dead were very definitely conscious. In 1851 the British Millennial Harbinger noted that "'The intermediate state of the dead" is ... at present receiving no small share of attention among our Advent brethren, who contend it as one of total insensibility'. This⁹⁸ may refer mainly to America. 'Adventist' devoted twenty of his forty-eight paragraphs to the state of the dead and the final destruction of⁹⁹ the wicked. The congregation at Uckfield appears to have divided on the conditionalist issue. Apart from Uckfield, there is virtually no evidence of the effect of the conditionalist controversy on Millerite Adventist congregations in Britain. Richard Robertson, agent for the Herald, several times raised the issue, but he was by that time influ-¹⁰⁰enced by the Christadelphians.

96. Brit.Mill.Harb., 7(1854),37,77,138,283,284.

97. Bonham, The Eternal Punishment; Prophetic Herald, 1(1845),72-85; AH, 1 Jan.1848,p.71; an unnamed correspondent pressed the Herald for its views, 4 May 1850,p.109; PFF, IV, 945-47.

98. Brit.Mill.Harb.,4(1851),82-84. For articles against spiritism, AH, 9 Oct.1852,p.328; 23 Oct.,p.343; 8 Jan.1853,p.15. The Christadelphians, who rejected the idea of a personal devil, as well as consciousness in death, argued that the phenomena of spiritualism were real, but not the work of spirits, nor did astral influences have anything to do with them. Animal magnetism was responsible for the phenomena, Ambassador, 2(1865),272.

99. Importance, pp.4-14.

100. AH, 8 Aug.1857,pp.254-55; 29 May 1858,pp.174-75; 27 Nov.,p.382; the Herald began a strong advocacy of eternal torment in 1859. Johnson, Advent Christian History,p.177.

8. The 'Shut Door'

The Millerites understood the parable of the ten virgins (Matthew 15.1-13) to signify the close of the door of mercy at the advent.¹⁰¹ After 22 October 1844 those Millerites who still adhered to that date as significant in salvation history thought that the bridegroom had come at the appointed time and that the door to sinners was shut. Even Miller ceased for a period to work for the wicked world that had rejected his message. As reports of conversions came in after October, some were willing to concede that those who had not heard the 1844 message might find salvation, but those who had heard and rejected it were lost. The various understandings of the 'shut door' provided a fertile field for controversy, particularly as the term was used in different ways.¹⁰²

The idea of a 'shut door' to sinners prior to the advent is not found in British Millerite writings, or in any American publication traced in Britain. This emphasizes the fact that for some years it was the Herald Millerites who influenced and supported the English mission. Successive dates for the advent after October 1844 showed that the British Millerites did not see any significance in October 1844 once it had passed. There were guarded statements against the 'shut door', though not by British writers. The Voice of Truth, which may have circulated in Britain, spoke against a 'shut door'. The European Herald emphasized that ministers should continue preaching the gospel until the end.¹⁰³

101. 'Appeal to the unconverted', MCN, 27 July, p.35.

102. Miller was perhaps not very clear on the subject, Bliss, Memoirs, p.296. There was a further complication in that Revelation 3.8 spoke of an open and shut door. Some saw October 1844 as a fulfilment of this open door, VTGT, 24 Dec.1845, p.566; compare the issue of 3 Dec., p.544, which repudiated a shut door; Damsteegt, pp.106-15; MW, 20 Feb.1845, p.64; Schwarz, Lightbearers, pp.55,69; Arthur, 'Come out', pp.99,107,111,114.

103. VTGT, 3 Dec.1845, p.544; EAH, 1 July 1846, p.7.

Himes noted that Piers, a follower of Prince and Starkey, had written that some who were shut in, had escaped through the shut door and left Prince. In this historicization of the parable, Prince¹⁰⁴ appears to be moving to the centre of the stage as the Bridegroom.

9. The Sanctuary

Miller's key text, Daniel 8.14, mentioned both a time and an event, the cleansing of the sanctuary. Commentators worked hard to identify the sanctuary and the event. It was variously the cleansing of the church, the fall of Islam associated with the liberation of Palestine and the return of the Jews, the destruction of antichrist or of popery,¹⁰⁵ the second advent.

Miller at first believed that the sanctuary was the church, to be cleansed at the advent from the oppressive impieties of the papal horn. As he studied further he concluded that the primary application was to the earth. Other Millerites variously understood the sanctuary as the earth, the church, Palestine or Jerusalem. They were united that the cleansing would take place only at the close of the two thousand three hundred days, when Christ would appear and perform what ever cleansing¹⁰⁶ was to be done. Dealtry and Gunner taught that Jerusalem was the¹⁰⁷ sanctuary. Robert Winter considered the subject under four headings: what is meant by the sanctuary, how will it be cleansed, when, and for what purpose. After examining various scriptural usages of 'sanctuary' he concluded that it was the promised land, and showed that the promises to Abraham could be fulfilled only in a heavenly Caanan and immortal

104. AH, 23 Sept, 1846, p.53.

105. PFF, IV, 404.

106. Damsteegt, pp.31-35.

107. Nottingham Review, 24 May 1844, p.8; SAH, 7 May 1844, p.62.

state. The cleansing would be its purification from the wicked agents of its destruction, the removal of the curse, and its restoration to its original perfection and beauty. The purpose of the cleansing was to provide a home for Christ and his people, a new heaven and earth with
 108
 the new Jerusalem.

George Storrs had once believed the sanctuary was the whole earth. Now he believed it was the promised land, showing from Jeremiah 2.7 and five other proof texts that the land had been trodden underfoot and defiled. The sanctuary will be cleansed by earthquake and fire, and at that time the resurrection of Daniel 12.2,3 will occur. The fifth universal kingdom will be set up in the last days of those kingdoms into which the domain of the fourth beast had been divided. Christ will rule in the midst of his enemies (Psalm 110.2). He recognized that his views 'perhaps will differ essentially from some of my Second Advent brethren'. He had thrown up the whole subject for examination rather than giving a settled opinion. The importance of Storrs's article for British Millerism is its appearance in the Nottingham Midnight Cry. Winter may have read the American original as there are some similarities of treatment. Micklewood, who published the article, wrote mainly on the Apocalypse. The publication in Britain may have helped to condition
 109
 British Millerites to the Age to Come theory. British Millerites probably received little of the new interpretations of the sanctuary put out after October 1844, and the Herald gradually de-emphasized the subject. The doctrine does not feature in publications traced in Britain after 1844 except where works from before that date were imported or reprinted. The prophetic periods were decreasingly discussed, and

108. SAH, 16 April 1844, pp.34-35, 38-40; 21 May, pp.78-79.

109. MCN, 17 Aug., pp.57-61.

with them the time, event and place of Daniel 8.14.

10. The Last Things

The basic components of a premillennialist scheme must include events of the advent leading to the beginning of the millennium, events during and at the end of the millennium, the final state and abode of the righteous, and the fate of the wicked.

'The Watchman's Warning' listed thirty events to take place at the end of the days, i.e., 1843/4, recognizing that not every particular could be placed in the exact order of occurrence. Fifteen of these events related to heaven and fifteen to this world. They ran from the kingdom given up (I Cor.15. 24) to the descent of the New Jerusalem (Rev.21. 2,9,10) and from the ending of the day of grace (Rev.10. 5-7) ¹¹¹ to the marriage of the Lord (Rev.19. 9).

The appearing and the coming are two separate but linked events. The first resurrection and the translation of the living saints occur at the appearing. Christ would later descend to Mount Zion and return to the clouds, or to heaven, before the great conflagration. While the earth was being cleansed by fire immediately after the advent, the saints would remain in the air with the Lord. They would descend with Christ to the purified and regenerated earth, fulfilling Isaiah 65 and Micah 4. Scripture does not indicate the length of time between the appearing and the full establishment of the immortal kingdom. Ezekiel ¹¹² 39 may indicate seven years.

110 Damsteegt, pp.116-17.

111. ST, 29 June 1842,p.97; MCN, 13 July,pp.28-30; 'Watchman's Warning', SAH, 16 April 1844,pp.34-37.

112. Elon Galusha, Address of Elder Elon Galusha, with reasons for believing Christ's second coming at hand (Rochester, NY,1844),p.5; compare EAH, 1 July 1846,pp.3,4; 'Expositions of Isaiah 65.17-25', SAH, 23 April 1844,p.46.

The distinction between the appearing and the coming may be related to the teaching brought out in September 1830 in The Morning Watch. The 'epiphany' was the appearance of Christ in the sky which would strike terror into the hearts of the wicked, and the resurrection of the righteous dead with the change of the living saints would then take place, as in I Thessalonians 4.16,17. The advent meant the return of Christ to the earth with the saints to judge the nations.¹¹³

The first resurrection, that of the righteous, and the change of the living saints, was one of the key events at the advent. There was almost universal agreement among the Millerites that there would be two resurrections, separated by the millennium. Much more was said about the first resurrection, as this concerned the saints.¹¹⁴

Under the sixth seal, wrote Micklewood, 'the first resurrection takes place, the wicked are all cut off, and judgment is given to the saints at the beginning of the seventh millennium, and the saints rest and reign with Christ 1000 years ...At the end of that day, all the wicked dead arise to receive the penalty of the second death: that is, to be destroyed by fire'.¹¹⁵

The standard Millerite sequence was the advent and the first resurrection followed by the saints inhabiting a renewed earth. At the end

113. Rowdon, Brethren, pp.16-17,30-31; Biblical Inquirer, 1(1844-45),29-30, where John Ryder sought to distinguish between the second coming (past) and the second appearing (future).

114. SAH, 21 May 1844,pp.76,77; John Starkweather did not believe in two resurrections, considering the term resurrection may be used in a figurative sense, ST, 1 Mar.1842,p.177-78; E.C.Clemons suggested that spiritual death was the first death and recovery from it to spiritual life was the first resurrection. The editor disagreed with her article, VTGT, 25 Mar.1846,pp.101-02; 1 April 1846,p.9; Tuveson speaks of the 'third force' interpretation of the Protestant millennialists (or postmillennialists) who considered the first resurrection to apply to the rise of the saints' righteousness, rather than their bodies, Redeemer Nation, pp.33-34,39.

115. MCN, 14 Sept.,p.95;

of the 1000 years, the second resurrection, that of the wicked, would loose Satan, the dragon, from his chains of circumstance, and there would be fresh rebellion. The final destruction of the wicked was sometimes called the 'second judgment'. The Millerites had not wholly avoided the problem they saw in postmillennialism, namely, a period of glory followed by distress. However, it was emphasized that there was no battle, and the saints inside the beloved city suffered no harm. ¹¹⁶

There was no probation after the advent. The early Millerite statements do not seem to provide for the wicked after their defeat at the end of the millennium. Were they banished from the earth to hell? Burgess and 'Adventist' solved the problem by the annihilation of the wicked after the final confrontation. The unconscious state of the dead and the final annihilation of the wicked usually went together as components of the doctrine of conditional immortality. ¹¹⁷

11. There shall be Signs...(Luke 21.25)

'In the sun, and moon, and stars,
Signs and wonders have appeared.'
Reginald Heber, 1783-1826.

Signs and wonders were prophesied as indications of the end of age. {Joel 2.30,31; Matt.24.7,19; Rev.6.12}. Apart from wars, famines, and pestilences, there would be earthquakes, and celestial signs. This belief reinforced older ideas that the heavens revealed the special acts of God, or indeed of men. The strange events presaging the violent death of Caesar were not quoted by Shakespeare to impress his hearers with Roman credulity, but to emphasize the point that good and evil are

116. EAH, 20 Nov.1846,pp.33-35; 'The binding of the dragon for a 1000 years', AHMA, 11 Sept.1844,p.24; 7 Nov.,pp.63-64.

117. EAH, 1 July 1846,p.4, though it was conceded that there were strong scriptural evidences in favour; Burgess, Farewell Sermons, pp.29-32; Adventist,Importance, pp.1-4.

cosmic events, affecting the whole course of nature. John Hooper believed that as Jesus was heralded by signs from heaven, so the end of the Christian age would be foreshadowed by signs in heaven. ¹¹⁸

Disaster was part of the stock-in-trade of Millerite publications, as with other millenarian writings. Everything that went wrong with the world and its inhabitants proved the premillennialist point, while the progress of the Gospel fulfilled Matthew 24.14. Some writers saw disaster in terms of judgment, for example, on Sunday trains or boats, on blasphemy, or drunkenness, without emphasis on the end of time. ¹¹⁹

Alexander Campbell, concerned to avoid millenarian trends among his followers or their conversion to Mormonism, remarked that 'He who sets out to find signs and omens will soon find enough of them. He that expects visits from angels will find them.' The American James A. Hazen, preaching in 1842, showed that time had disproved the significance of earthquakes as signs evidenced by earlier writers. ¹²⁰

It is not easy to know when the Signs or Midnight Cry are quoting happenings for their general journalistic appeal or for their polemical thrust. No issue of the Signs failed to list some disaster, sometimes slipping to the trivial, e.g., London fog. Storms were another source of good copy. Apollos Hale gave a thirty-six page catalogue of catastrophies. ¹²¹ In fairness to the Millerites, Cross accepts Nichol's contention that the Millerite journals paid less attention to omens than the

118. E.M.W. Tillyard, The Elizabethan World Picture (1963), pp. 18-28, 68-71; Hazard, European Mind, pp. 185-212; CEQR, 21(1846), 503.

119. Wigley, 'Nineteenth Century Sabbatarianism', p. 103; compare Church of England Magazine, 21(1846), 370.

120. Harrison, Second Coming, p. 185; Hazen, The False Alarm, A Discourse delivered in the Congregational Church, South Wilbraham (Springfield, MA, 1842), p. 5; S.W. Lynd, The Second Advent of Christ (Cincinnati, OH, 1843), pp. 28, 29.

121. AH, 29 Jan. 1845, p. 199; almost daily railway accidents, 17 Sept. 1845, p. 47; Trumpet of Jubilee (Seneca Falls, NY), April 1846, np.

secular press of the day. The latter provided a fountain of lurid copy¹²² for those anxious about the times. The Latter-Day Saints' Millennial Star also dealt in signs, but with a greater emphasis on the miraculous. In its first year it listed plagues in the East, an earthquake in Scotland, wars in Spain and Latin America, a volcanic eruption in the West Indies, Mississippi floods, a tornado at Natchez, an earthquake on¹²³ Mount Ararat, floods and forest fires, and Plymouth destroyed.

Micklewood and other Millerites saw the Lisbon earthquake of November 1755 as a possible fulfilment of Revelation 6.12, although, together with Literalists, the majority of Millerites favoured the French Revolution¹²⁴ as the fulfilment.

The first of the celestial signs to pass into Millerite writings was the Dark Day of 19 May 1780. This phenomenon, observable mainly in New England, featured in Millerite and Seventh-day Adventist literature as a fulfilment of Joel 2.30,31. Micklewood declared that there was no natural cause for it. The perceived significance and uniqueness of this event seems to have grown over the years. Some Millerites associated the signs with Matthew 24.34. 'We may know that the generation which saw the first of these events, May 19, 1780, will not pass away until the Lord comes'. The conclusion drawn, though not from this text alone, was

122. Cross, p.297; for compilations of calamities from newspapers, LDSMS, 9(1847),110-11; VTGT, 7 Jan.1846,pp.13,14; compare Advent Review, 5 Dec.1865,p.2.

123. Harrison, Second Coming,p.191.

124. MCN, 14 Sept.,93; for the effect of the earthquakes of 1727 and 1755 on New England thought, Davidson, Logic, pp.97-103; Damsteegt, p.26; ST, 1 Feb.1842,p.161; John Hooper, Present Crisis,p.20.

that 1844 must witness the great event. Miller saw Matthew 24.29 fulfilled in the obscuration of the moral sun, the Gospel, and found other figurative fulfilments of other biblical prophecies concerning the heavenly bodies. Celestial phenomena were noted as reinforcing the belief in the advent. In eclectic vein Clorinda Minor wrote of 'the increasing signs in our moral, political, and natural heavens'.¹²⁶

William Skene, curate of Kelloe, Durham, saw the possibility of both a literal and moral fulfilment of Joel 2.10 and Revelation 6.12, the darkening of the sun (Jesus Christ), and the moon (the church).¹²⁷ The European Advent Herald believed that 'Whether the signs stated by our Lord...are understood literally or symbolically, the result is the same'. The stress appeared to be more on the state of churches and nations than physical phenomena.¹²⁸

Henry Jones seems to have been the first important Millerite writer to insist on the supernatural nature and purpose of meteors, dark days and aurorae. He wrote in 1839 on the falling stars and northern lights.¹²⁹ Josiah Litch and then Himes accepted Jones's view.¹³⁰

125. Benjamin Gorton had noted 1780 as the first of a long series of celestial signs, A Scriptural Account of the Millennium pp.73-84; Micklewood, MCN, 13 July,p.32; 7 Sept.,p.93; AH, 18 Sept,1844, p.54. Merton E.Sprengel, 'The Dark Day plus 200 Years', Adventist Review, 22 May 1980,pp.5-7; 29 May,pp.9-12; 5 June,pp.11-14, gives a 'revisionist' view, which is nearer to the original Millerite position than some later developments. Julia Neuffer, 'The Dark Day', confirms the natural origin of the phenomenon, Adventist Review, 3 July 1980,p.13.
126. Miller, on his deathbed, is said to have regarded 1780 as a fulfilment of Matt.24.19 to be one of the fundamentals Himes was sworn to uphold, AHBA, 24 Dec.1853,p.43; MCN, 13 July,p.32; Sprengel, 'Dark Day', 22 May,p.6; Damsteegt, p.26.
127. Church of England Magazine, 21(1846),370; Christadelphian Ambassador, 5(1868),85, and other issues on 'The Biblical Heavens and the Signs thereof'.
128. EAH, 1 July 1846,p.3.
129. ST, 22 Feb.1843,p.178;
130. Sprengel, 'Dark Day', 22 May, pp.6-7; PFF, IV, 1210-20.

Galusha, although unwilling to set a date for the advent, was highly specific about 1780, 1833-35 (falling of the stars), the sign of blood (1837), and other signs. Thomas, nearly twenty years later, recommended Jeremiah 10.2 'to the heathen of Yankeedom who pretend to see in the alleged darkening of the New England sky in 1780 the sign of the coming...in 1843'. In 1849 an appeal was made to Adventists in England and Scotland to substantiate a claim that the Dark Day had been visible¹³¹ in Scotland.

British Millerites had less space in their papers for news items, but thought celestial signs of some importance. Winter reprinted an American exposition of Matthew 24, mentioning the strange signs in London in 1839. He echoed Jones's argument that the burden of proof concerning the aurora being a long-standing phenomenon was on the critics. They had expected him to prove it was a last-day sign. Could they prove otherwise? The meteor shower of 13 November 1833 was a further¹³² sign, and all the signs, beginning in 1780, were now complete. The signs closely fitted the prophetic declaration. Had the signs been more astounding, they would have stopped the mouth of scoffers. The Millerites fended off criticism by pointing out that the doubters, be they 'learned infidels' or 'ignorant sceptics', were merely fulfilling prophecy and so demonstrating the rightness of Adventist interpretation.¹³³

Gunner mentioned both 1780 and 1833 in an 1851 exposition which may reflect his earlier teaching. Elizabeth Lloyd listed a sign in the sun

131. Address, p.16; Herald of the Kingdom, 10(1860),242.

132. AH, 1 Dec.1849,p.144; SAH, 2 April 1844,p.23; 'Matthew 24', SAH, 8 April,p.30. The short-lived Monitor (Brooklyn, NY.), discussed both 1780 and 1833 as signs, July 1850,pp.22-23; compare World's Crisis (Lowell and Boston, MA),1 Mar.1854,np.

133. 'Can ye not discern the signs of the times?' by the editors. Only two paragraphs were on celestial signs, SAH, 9 April 1844,p.32; AH, 18 Sept.,p.54.

at Norwich in December 1843, just before Winter and Burgess opened their mission there. She received a letter from Dublin telling of strange sights in the sky both in November 1843 and January 1844. Her sketch of one of the wonders was printed with her letter.¹³⁴

The comet of February 1843 was both confirmation and embarrassment to the Millerites. The embarrassment was that people might pin too much faith on these signs. The Signs noted that the comet had caught the astronomers unprepared, and 'to scatter their own fears, they predicted beforehand that the Millerites would no doubt be frightened'. The Millerite believers cared little for the probable cause of the comet. They believed that the Lord was coming. Whether the comet was a messenger of his fury was immaterial. Believers should not try to account for every wonder on philosophical principles (Amos 3.6).¹³⁵ Dealtry and Micklewood did not wish to be 'superstitious in the credence and report of celestial phenomena', but asked if the comet might not be the sign of the Son of Man.¹³⁶

The interest in celestial signs and disasters did not quickly abate among the survivors of October 1844. Thomas M. Preble suggested that disasters greatly increased in 1845.¹³⁷ Although Burgess reprinted Jones's Modern Phenomena, his lecture on signs concentrated on social, religious, and political signs, with only one of the twenty-three items being celestial phenomena. Discussing events under the sixth seal,

134. F. Gunner, Twelve Essays on the Personal Reign of Christ, and kindred subjects (Philadelphia, PA, 1851), pp. 101-02; AH, 14 Feb. 1844, p. 11; 28 Feb., p. 27.

135. ST, 29 Mar. 1843, p. 28; AH, 18 Nov. 1846, p. 117; compare 3 April 1847, p. 66.

136. MCN, 3 Aug., p. 48.

137. The Voice of God: or an account of the unparalleled fires, hurricanes, floods and earthquakes, commencing with 1845; also some account of pestilence, famine, and increase of crime (Albany, NY, 1847).

Burgess listed the St Domingo earthquake of 1842, the massive hailstorm¹³⁸ in Padua, and his own experience in Norwich in 1843.

12. Time Setting

The emphasis on time was the propelling force in the Millerite revival.¹³⁹

Miller mustered at least fifteen calculations to demonstrate that the prophetic periods ended in 1843, drawing on a variety of Bible prophecies and analogies.¹⁴⁰ More commonly the Millerites argued from five time-lines: the 6000 years of creation, the seven times of Leviticus 26.18, the great jubilee, the 2300 days, and the 1335 days, all ending about 1843.¹⁴¹

The first serious disappointment for the Millerites was in the spring of 1844.¹⁴² In 1843 winter 'was strong in the faith of 1843'. In February 1844 he stated; 'I do not consider the vision run out until March 1843, Jewish year ... any day after March 21 we may expect to see the Lord; These are my views and the views of many of the Second Advent brethren in this country. Many... think he may probably tarry a few months longer, to bring out the scoffers'.¹⁴³ He had thus left some room for manoeuvre should the parousia not come in March 1844, and had avoided any firm commitment to a later date. This ambivalence was

138. Six Discourses...On the Seven Last Vials, pp.10-11; Modern Phenomena...Signs of the Times, pp.45-48; MCN, 13 July, p.32; compare Micklewood, MCN, 7 Sept.,p.93.

139. Arthur, 'Come out', p.33; Lindén, Trump, p.39; Cross, p.291; ST, 16 Dec.1841,p.141.

140. ST, 25 Jan.1843,pp.147-48. Nichol,pp.522-24, feels that some of Miller's secondary proofs were derived from 1843, rather than being evidences pointing to it. Miller was rationalizing.

141. SAH, 2 April 1844,p.17; Damsteegt, pp.36-38,85-90; ST, 10 Aug.1842, p.148; 9 Nov.,p.61; 23 Nov.,pp.77,167; ST, 4 Jan.1843, p.121; 22 Feb.,p.182.

142. MC, 9 May 1844,p.339; Damsteegt, pp.91-93.

143. MC, 3 Nov.1843,p.93; AH, 24 April 1844,p.95.

reflected in the first number of the Harbinger, which counselled its readers to 'occupy till he comes'.¹⁴⁴

Millerites preached at Bristol that the end of the world would come on 20 March 1844. The day before they allegedly confessed a miscalculation, but stated that 'the world would not last long, and would in all probability fail to see out the year'.¹⁴⁵

March and April passed, and Winter countered disconfirmation by rationalization in 'A Word to Those who Think the Time has Passed'. The 2300 days will not expire until the whole of 1843, Jewish year, has ended in March 1844. The coming could take place any time within a year after March.¹⁴⁶

In May the Harbinger again hinted at a disappointment in an 'Appeal to the Doubting', who were 'almost weary of waiting and watching', and similar thoughts were expressed in early October.¹⁴⁷ Burgess, writing in April 1844, did not seem aware of any disappointment, but listed his projected travels, 'should the Lord spare the world'. The Harbinger, up to and including the issue of 16 April 1844, continued to carry the statement: 'There are none of the prophetic periods, as we understand, that extend beyond the Jewish year, 1843, which terminates this Spring (1844)'.¹⁴⁸ The Nottingham Midnight Cry carried an identical statement of belief from the first to eighth issue. The footnote carried by the American periodicals to explain the non-event of the spring was not copied in the British papers.¹⁴⁹ Already in April 1844 Routon had

144. SAH, 19 Mar.1844,p.7. This was presumably directed to any one who might think they should give up their secular occupation; compare ST, 22 Feb.1843,p.180; Nichol, pp.250-54.

145. Bristol Mercury, 23 Mar.1844,p.8; compare SAH, 19 Mar.1844,p.5.

146. SAH, 2 April 1844,p.21; Damsteegt, p.92.

147. SAH, 21 May 1844,p.73; AHMA, 2 Oct.1844,p.41.

148. SAH, 16 April 1844,p.33; 30 April,p.55; AHMA, 2 Oct.1844,p.47-48.

149. MC, 23 May 1844,p.356; compare SAH, 16 April 1844,p.40; MCN, 13 July,p.32.

suggested that the believers could expect the advent hourly from the present until spring 1845.¹⁵⁰

Dealtry and Micklewood wrote in June 1844, a time of slackening Millerite enthusiasm in America, perhaps reflected in Britain: 'If we shall have been mistaken in our calculations on specific data, we shall have the satisfaction of knowing that we acted conscientiously...we erred on the safe side'.¹⁵¹ However, unless their error could be shown, they would continue to believe that the Lord would come in this Jewish year 1844, which according to Hutchinson (1844) would end in September 1844.¹⁵² The second coming was to be expected daily.¹⁵³ William Barker could see nothing in the prophetic periods beyond 1844.¹⁵⁴ P.H.Gosse, possibly the naturalist writer and Plymouth Brother, wrote to prove 'that the great periods you suppose to terminate in 1843, do terminate in 1844'.¹⁵⁵

There was an awareness of Snow's seventh month idea among some of the British Millerites despite the very late editorial endorsement by the Advent Herald and New York Midnight Cry. In April 1844 Winter was looking forward to September or the seventh month.¹⁵⁶ An unsigned article of 1844, entitled 'The Seventh Month', quoted Miller's argument

150. Routon, SAH, 30 April 1844, p.56; compare, 9 April, p.29; 16 April, p.37, 40; 23 April, pp.44-45; 30 April, p.52; 7 May, p.64; 14 May, pp.70-71; 21 May, pp.74-75, 79.
151. MCN, 29 June, p.14; AHMA, 28 Aug. 1844, p.12; Advent Shield and Review, May 1844, pp.121, 123.
152. MCN, 27 July, p.34; Abrahamic Inheritance, p.31.
153. 'Voice of Warning', MCN, 10 Aug., p.54.
154. AH, 17 July 1844, p.186.
155. MCN, 24 Aug. 1844, p.69; Edmund Gosse, Father and Son (1907), pp.28, 67, 340, 365.
156. MC 22 Feb. 1844, p.243; 27 June, p.397; Damsteegt, pp.91-96; H.Bannister, a Christadelphian, later speculated that Christ might come on the first day of the seventh month, on the analogy of Christ fulfilling the feast of passover at Calvary, and of first fruits and trumpets foreshadowing the last trump, Ambassador, 4(1867), 228; AH, 21 Aug. 1844, p.21; 2 Oct., p.72; Wellcome, pp.358-59, 361; AH, 5 June 1844, p.142.

that the autumn services of the Levitical liturgical year could only be fulfilled at the second advent and, acknowledging Snow, set out eleven types of the seventh month. No date was set.¹⁵⁷ The people of Bristol were warned that 'a few short weeks will forever seal their destiny',¹⁵⁸ though no specific date was mentioned.

The strongest direct statement from a British Millerite on the seventh month is a letter from Dealtry to the Nottingham Midnight Cry when on mission in Bristol:

Dear Brother, you may depend on it the seventh month of the Jewish sacred year, corresponding to our 1844, will bring the Lord from heaven; it commences with the new moon of October, I think on the 11th, being the seventh month. We were wrong in supposing the periods had terminated. I have just issued a challenge to the ministers of Bristol to overthrow the arguments deduced from Daniel, that the Lord will come to judge the quick and the dead IN THE AUTUMN of the PRESENT YEAR, 1844...I can see no chance of the World's probation beyond November.

Characteristically for writers on prophetic topics, he added, 'Do you observe what is going on in the East? The signs are thickening on all sides.'¹⁵⁹ It is not certain to what mistake Dealtry alludes in the termination of the periods. Probably he referred to the disappointment in the spring of 1844.

The last issue of the Nottingham Midnight Cry in September did not point to any date for the advent as part of its closing message. In October Winter's exposition of Daniel 8 ended the 2300 days in 1844.¹⁶⁰ Five times he repeated 'This year'. The same issue of the Harbinger printed a letter from Himes regretting yet a another postponement of his visit to England, and speaking of the seventh month movement in America.

157. AHMA, 14 Aug.1844, pp.7,8; MCN, 17 Aug., pp.61-62.

158. MCN, 24 Aug., pp.66-67; 31 Aug., p.80.

159. MCN, 24 Aug., p.72; Gloucester Journal, 31 Aug.1844, p.3; FFBJ, 24 Aug. p.3.

160. AHMA, 9 Oct.1844, p.52. This issue is correctly paged. The succeeding issue, 21 Oct., begins again at p.49.

'However, if, after all, we should be mistaken as to the exact time of the Lord's coming, and the circumstances will justify, we shall come...on the 1st November...'. His ambivalence is understandable, if bathetic. This postponement caused disappointment and letters importuned him to come.¹⁶¹ The nearness of the end was emphasized by the note that 'We shall issue, if time continue (which we do not expect) a volume of 12 or 13 numbers'. The issue of 21 November omitted the bracketed phrase, perhaps evidence that the hope of the imminent coming had receded in the interval between the numbers.¹⁶² The evidence concerning the emphasis on October 1844 is rather contradictory, as shown in Chapter IV. The phrase 'no general movement...respecting the seventh month', has to be balanced against known instances of expectation.¹⁶³

There is some evidence for a reaction in Britain following the disconfirmation of October 1844, but not on the scale of America, probably because the dates had not been preached so widely or decidedly. Joseph Curry found it 'very extraordinary that the time has passed. Surely we cannot have the correct starting point, else I am persuaded the Lord will have appeared'. He feared that many would abandon their faith, and the Liverpool group did fall on hard times.¹⁶⁴

The Harbinger did not publish articles on the October disappointment. The paper stated on 7 November that 'any looking forward to particular days is unscriptural', yet asserted that the end would come within the Jewish Civil year. Again, apparent inconsistencies were introduced because of failure to edit the American material.¹⁶⁵ In

161. AHMA, 9 Oct.1844,p.56; AH, 27 Nov.1844,p.128.

162. AHMA, 9 Oct.1844,p.56; 21 Nov.,p.72.

163. AH, 27 Nov.1844,p.128; Rogers, Reply, pp.13,41; Advent Shield and Review, Jan.1845,pp.267,281-82,283,285; VTGT, 27 Nov.1844,p.174.

164. Letter to Himes, 2 Dec.1844, AH, 29 Jan.1845,p.198.

165. AHMA, 7 Nov.1844,p.64; 30 Nov.,p.77; compare MCN, 6 July,p.21.

January 1845 Winter believed that the advent could not be delayed beyond
¹⁶⁶
 next spring.

Millerites were not alone in time-setting in 1845. That year was
 selected by Prince and 'two or three eccentric clergymen' for preaching
¹⁶⁷
 the advent of the Lord to come within a few weeks.

Dealtry and Burgess preached the date October 1845. Apparently
¹⁶⁸
 they believed that 1845 was actually 1847. This idea of the common
 era being two or three years in error may have been put about among
 Millerites by Snow, though it was well known among expositors. Beddome
 stated that the chronology was at fault as 'the present year
 called 1847 is not the true year of our Lord', and exact
¹⁶⁹
 dating was indeterminable. Burgess argued that in view of
 the four years in dispute with chronologers, Miller and others were
 right in declaring their belief in Christ's coming about 1843. Burgess
¹⁷⁰
 was thankful to have heard the 1843 message. There is some evidence
 of discouragement after the failure of 1845. The Lloyds 'were most
 disappointed at not seeing the Lord'. Dealtry was 'disappointed, [but]
¹⁷¹
 by no means disheartened'. Beddome warned against 'fanaticism and
 extravagance of every kind...[and] the agitation of specified time, or
 fixing of dates, for I have seen much evil result from this practice'.
 The predictions had proved fallacious and there was also 'an

166. AHMA, 9 Jan.1845,p.88.

167. AH, 23 Sept,1846,p.53; Day Star,(Cincinnati,OH),6 Sept.1845,p.25,
 quoting Philadelphia Saturday Evening Post (datelined Bristol,
 Aug.1845).

168. Western Luminary, 2 Sept.1845,p.3; Trewman's Exeter FP, 25
 Sept.1845,p.3; Western Times, 13 Sept.1845, p.3; FFBJ, 11 Oct.
 1845,p.8.

169. Plymouth DSH, 4 Oct.1845,p.3; AH, 26 Nov.,p.126; 8 April 1846,
 p.67; VTGT, 29 Oct.1845,p.504; 12 Nov.1845,p.522; AH, 23 Oct.
 1847,p.94.

170. Letter Oct.1845, AH, 26 Nov.,p.126.

171. AH, 26 Nov.1845,p.127;13 Jan.1846,p.182;4 Feb.,p.205.

enthusiastic feeling generated which has no countenance in the word of God, but is rather condemned by it'.¹⁷²

1846 does not appear to have been much promoted by British Millerites, except that they sold Luther's sermon of 1516 which predicted judgment within 360 years.¹⁷³ Winter wrote to Bonham that the brethren in England were generally looking to 1847 for the termination of the 2300 days, and this was confirmed by the Campbellite Christian Messenger.¹⁷⁴ Silas Hawley advocated that date in 1844. John Hooper, rector of Albury, discussed 1847 in a letter to Himes. Rosegrave Macklin of Derby invited Hutchinson to visit him, expecting the seventh trumpet to begin to sound in 1847. Micklewood and his friends were 'unmoved about the date of the Advent, nor can we see any possibility of 1847 failing'. Henry Clarke of Nottingham expected the end to come at the conclusion of the 2300 days in 1847.¹⁷⁵ The Second Advent Christians in London preached the end of the world in or around 1847. In 1846 Dealtry preached on the 'coming of Christ and Restoration of the Kingdom to Israel in 1847'.¹⁷⁶

On the other hand the European Herald listed no time period in its statement of 'Important Truths', but the advent was 'now emphatically nigh, even at the door', as shown by the chronology of the prophetic periods. Not the time, but the event was the essential difference

172. AH, 23 Oct.1847,p.94.

173. Meat in due season: a sermon by Martin Luther (New York, 1845); The Signs of Christ's Coming, and of the Last Day: Being Extracts from a Very Choice and Excellent sermon... Upon Luke xxi.25-34 (Edinburgh,1832). Earlier editions were Wittenberg, 1532 (German), 1570,1578,1661, London (English); Inquirer, April 1840,pp.173-74; EAH, 1 July 1846,p.8.

174. AH, 13 Jan.1846,p.182; CMFM, 2(1846),366.

175. AH, 14 Feb.1844,p.12; 2 Dec.1846,p.133; 23 Dec.,p.157; 17 Mar.1847,p.48; 17 April,p.87.

176. Derby & Chersterfield ... Chronicle, 16 Oct.1846,p.6; C.Dealtry, A Lecture upon the Coming of Christ and Restoration of the Kingdom of Israel in 1847 (Devonport,1846).

between Adventists and their opponents. The question at issue was what
¹⁷⁷
 inaugurates the millennium.

Burgess, the main British author at this period, who had expected the end to come in 1847, was moving away from time-setting. Of the twenty-three signs of the second coming he listed, only the 1260 years, with the death and resurrection of the two witnesses, was mentioned as a time prophecy fulfilled. The time of the Gentiles, the 6000 years from creation, the seven times, the 2300 and 1335 days were upon the point of completion. The sixth seal and trumpet were not linked by Burgess to
¹⁷⁸
 any specific time.

Micklewood in 1847 set no date for the advent. The contemporary position in relation to the vision was 'in the interval, therefore, called 'QUICKLY' between the second and third {last} woe'. This marks a shift in Micklewood's thinking from the earlier assurance on 1844. In 1847, Hutchinson thought the prophetic periods were ending 'about now',
¹⁷⁹
 and the event 'may come today - it will soon come'.

'Adventist', writing in 1850, stated that the 2300 and 1335-day periods were on the point of completion. He was not concerned with
¹⁸⁰
 precise chronologies.

The year of revolutions, 1848, does not seem to have been remarked by British Millerites. This may have been due to the paucity of material from them at that time. They were probably already divided and distrac-

177. EAH, 1 July 1846, pp.3, 7; 23Dec., p.47; The Bible Advocate (H) thought time the great distinguishing feature of the Advent Movement, 1 Aug. 1846, p.28.

178. Modern Phenomena ... Signs of the Times, pp.45-48. Six Discourses...On the Parable of the Ten Virgins and the Midnight Cry applied to the present time, p.11; Six Discourses...On the Seven Last Vials, pp.4-6.

179. E.Micklewood, Key to the Chronological Arrangement of the Apocalypse (1847), pp.28,29,43; AH, 12 June 1846, p.152; EAH, 1 April 1847, p.62.

180. Adventist, Importance, p.16.

ted by other issues. John Thomas wrote in July 1848 of great things to¹⁸¹ happen in that year, which he claimed was 1844, true time. David Widdowson wrote to the Campbellite Gospel Banner showing that events in Europe portended the fall of Rome in fulfilment of Revelation¹⁸² 17.16,17. The turmoil in Europe was not generally understood by American Adventists as a specific fulfilment of prophecy.

Time, for the British Millerites, as for that group which was to organize in 1858 as the American Millennial Association, later Evangelical Adventists, had ceased to be a live issue. The Lord was coming soon; the date was unrevealed.

13. Current Affairs and Prophecy

Most of the Millerites avoided identifying contemporary religious or political leaders with persons depicted in prophecy, the pope and his office excepted. Napoleon and France were involved, largely because of their relations with the pope in 1798, marking the end of the 1260 days. Current affairs were generally reported as signs of the times rather than specific fulfilments. There was definite discouragement of over-close identification of national history with prophecy and 'anticipating¹⁸³ events that have never come to pass'.

There were some exceptions. 'The Watchman's Warning', drawing on George Croly, understood France and Italy to be the two horns of the lamb-like beast of Revelation 13, and it was 'quite evident' that

181. Gospel Banner, 1(1848),175-76.

182. ibid., 2(1849),128,166.

183. e.g. Miller on Bonaparte and the 1290 days, ST, 1 July 1841,p.49; 'The Fall of Popery', SAH, 21 May 1844,p.77: The 'brief and judicious remarks' of A.Kent of England urged the study of prophecy, but with caution. 'Anticipating events that have never come to pass, or at least only partially so, and travelling beyond...Scripture...they obscure the brightness of the truth', MW, 6 Feb. 1845,p.46.

Austria, England, Prussia, and Russia were the four restraining angels at the Euphrates. The suggested withdrawal of Russia from the London Conference in 1843 was evidence that the sealing work was nearly done as¹⁸⁴ the angelic concord broke up. Curry noted 'singular move-¹⁸⁵ments...which will shortly shake the kingdom'. This is the only comment found on current affairs from a lay Millerite.

In 1838 Josiah Litch wrote on Revelation 9.15, which period he believed would terminate on 11 August 1840. The diplomatic activity at that date was accepted by the Millerites as vindication of Litch's calculations. Turkish independence was considered to have ended, though¹⁸⁶ the shadow of power lived on. Micklewood and Dealtry wrote editorially endorsing this dating of the second woe from 27 July 1449 to 1840.¹⁸⁷ The Harbinger also printed expositions incorporating Litch's view. Dealtry lectured on this 'last great prophecy with which a period is¹⁸⁸ connected, except the concluding period...'.¹⁸⁹

The Ottoman Empire continued to fascinate the Millerites. Litch wondered by what authority the Empire was identified with the Euphrates which was to dry up under the sixth seal of Revelation 16.12, making way for the kings of the east. Recurrent reports of great numbers of Jews returning, Litch remarked, led people to talk of the river drying up. Miller hoped that all symbolism would not be given up. Revelation could¹⁸⁹ not be understood without it.

184. SAH, 16 April 1844, p.35; ST, 14 Feb.1844, pp.14-15; 21 Feb., p.23; Apollos Hale, Herald of the Bridegroom (Boston, 1843).

185. AH, 4 Feb.1846, p.206.

186. Josiah Litch, The Probability of the Second Coming of Christ about A.D.1843 (Boston, MA, 1838), p.157; ST, 1 Aug.1840, p.70; 1 Jan.1842, pp.147-48.

187. MCN, 27 July, p.37; 17 Aug., p.64; Gunner, 'The Student's Alarm', SAH, 30 April 1844, p.51; 'The Woe Trumpets', AHMA, 9 Jan. 1845, pp.84-87.

188. Nottingham Review, 7 June 1844, p.8.

189. AH, 24 Sept.1845, p.50; 22 Oct., p.82; Schwarz, Lightbearers, pp.400-02; compare Rogers's criticism, Reply, p.47.

CHAPTER IX

PEOPLES CALLED OUT

The religious bodies discussed briefly in this chapter have all been extensively researched by other writers. The object of the sections that follow is to show parallels and contrasts in millenarian groups and to examine the relationships between them. In some instances, emphasis will be on the way the group was perceived by the Millerites. In the longer sections, that aspect is less significant, and the writings of the sect provide the basis of the study. The Southcottians, mentioned in Chapter VI, the Brethren, and the Catholic Apostolic Church are examples of the former. The Mormons, the Christadelphians, and the Campbellites or Churches of Christ are in the second category.

1. The Brethren

This group, otherwise called Plymouth Brethren, have probably been more intensely researched than any other of the restorationist movements of the nineteenth century.¹ One of the founders of the movement, J.N. Darby, had taken part in the Powerscourt prophetic conferences. These conferences helped to form Darby's thought, deepened the cleavage between himself, a Church of Ireland minister, and his church, and to a hostile witness, 'constituted a seed bed which was to produce a noxious crop of dissension'.² The 1833 conference discussed the need to withdraw from the apostate church and the parenthesis between the

1. Rowdon, Brethren; Coad, Brethren.
2. Rowdon, Brethren, p.86.

3

sixty-ninth and seventieth weeks of Daniel 9. Darby's doctrine of
 4
 the church was built up under the expectation of the imminent advent.

His most original contribution to doctrine as opposed to discipline was the theory of the rapture. This was based on 'a hermeneutical principle of stark literalism', and considered the dispensation of the church to be a parenthesis in salvation history. After the rapture of the church, the history of God's dealings with Israel would recommence. Dispensationalism, set out in the Scofield Reference Bible, has become the most widely accepted form of premillennialism. To some, dispensationalism poses a soteriological problem in that man appears to be saved in different ways in different ages. This is not generally admitted as a
 5
 difficulty by dispensationalists.

To an observer in 1851, there was 'no considerable diversity of doctrine between the Brethren and members of all Protestant Evangelical communions...the doctrine of the second advent...is now, and has ever been, especially dwelt upon amongst them; but a difference of sentiment
 6
 on this is not regarded as a bar to fellowship'.

The ethos of Brethrenism did not encourage record keeping or central organization. It is not easy to obtain figures on membership or the

3. ibid., p.96-99; 'Our reason for rejecting the congregations of apostate bodies is that Christ doeth not manifest Himself among them in their public character, though He may save some individuals as brands from the burning...', A.N.Groves, quoted in Coad, Brethren, p.116.
4. 'To these churches we cry, standing on the outside, Come out of her, my people', ibid., p.118.
5. C.B.Bass, Background to Dispensationalism, Its Historical Genius and Ecclesiastical Implications (Grand Rapids, MI, 1960), pp.128-40,144; S.P.Tregelles suggested that the theory of the Secret Rapture was first given in an 'utterance' in Irving's church. Brethren historians have not generally accepted this view, PFF, IV, 1221-26; Rowdon, Brethren, p.280-91; Sandeen, p.90; PFF, III, 655; I, 277; on the soterological implications, L.Berkhof, Systematic Theology (Grand Rapids, MI,1965), p.710; Barr, Fundamentalism, p.204.
6. Parliamentary Papers, LXXXIX (1852-53), pp,xcix.

social groups most attracted, but there seems to have been a higher proportion of persons of social or scholarly standing than in other restorationist groups. One critic was cynical about this supposed poverty of the teachers and the affluence of the supporters.⁷

Inevitably there was adverse criticism. The Congregationalist Eclectic Review spoke of 'demoralizing atheism spreading throughout manufacturing districts and transcendent spiritualism and millenarianism⁸ brought into combination with Sandemanianism by Plymouth Brethren'. The Christian Observer had abstained from noticing the Brethren 'upon the general principle which we followed in regard to Irvingism and other extravagances, that except so far as they become matters of great notoriety...it is not for us to make them a subject of popular discussion'. Despite this policy, it had been decided to publish a letter on the 'specious delusions' of Plymouth Brethrenism.⁹

In Britain the Millerites appeared to have enjoyed good relations with the Brethren. Barker found them open to conviction on second advent truth. Brother Dorman of Reading called on Himes and discussed the destiny of the Jews; Brown, Himes, and Matthew Habershon, architect and student of prophecy, worshipped in London at a gathering of the Brethren in a 'little and retired building probably occupied as a school house during the week'. Mr Wellesley, 'favourite nephew of the Duke of Wellington', a believer in the advent nigh and a Plymouth Brother, entertained Hutchinson at Bath. He had earlier lived in Sheffield, where

7. 'Headquarters are generally near the residence of some wealthy supporter, and though the teachers live in poverty... and by faith... their uncertain income would gladden the heart of many a country pastor', Cyprian Rust, The 'Brethren': An Examination of the Opinions & Policies of the New Sect, usually denominated 'Plymouth Brethren' (Colchester, 1844); cited in Christian Observer, 43 (1844), 187.
8. Eclectic Review, 5 (1839), 571-90.
9. Christian Observer, 39 (1840), 266-79 (p.266).

preaching about the second coming always created a stir. William Trotter, formerly of the Methodist New Connexion, now a Brother, preached there to a packed house of 250. Hutchinson noted that the brethren, presumably the believers in the second advent, were building a chapel. 'They mostly sympathized with the Plymouth Brethren, who were very exclusive, or perhaps we would have got a hearty request to speak the word'.¹⁰ It is not clear what Hutchinson means, but it appears either that the Adventist sympathizers were very close to the Brethren, or that the Brethren were believers in the advent, and so considered allies, if somewhat cool in their relations. At Sidmouth Hutchinson preached in the Brethren meeting house, and in Hertford there was 'a large body of saints called Plymouth Brethren...waiting for the revelation of the Savior'.¹¹

In America from 1865 Darby was able to win 'a great many Millerites' in the Boston area. 'Their scraps of Greek and Hebrew I could meet, and their calculations of dates for the Lord's coming only baffled them, and the word of God resumed its ascendancy'.¹²

2. The Catholic Apostolic Church

This body grew out of the apocalypticism of Edward Irving and the fascination with spiritual gifts. The religious world of the early nineteenth century was not ready for the glossolalia that broke out in 1831. The charismatics took the initiative, and Irving was left on the periphery to give his name to a movement he did not lead, dying a

10. MC, 16 May 1844, p.351. Barker noted the points of similarity and difference; Himes referred to him as Rev. William Henry Dorman, AH, 26 Aug.1846, p.20; 21 Oct., p.85; 6 Jan.1847, p.173; Coad, Brethren, pp.75-76, 78, 156, 160-61; on Trotter, Rowdon, Brethren, p.175.

11. AH, 19 Aug.1846, p.13; 30 Sept., p.61; 6 Jan.1847, p.173; 10 Mar., p.37; 31 Mar., p.61.

12. Sandeen, p.77.

broken-hearted man at forty-two.

The Millerites acknowledged the prophetic interpretation of Irving,¹⁴ even though his understanding was in many ways different from theirs. They regarded the tongues as an aberration, agreeing with an earlier writer that the content of the utterances tended to bring the whole¹⁵ subject of the advent into disrepute. The utterances could be problematic even for the believer since 'Evil spirits, imitating the voice of the Comforter, sometimes at once detected, sometimes deceiving for a time the most wary, caused terror to the weak, and doubt and misgiving¹⁶ to all'.

The Catholic Apostolics printed Testimonies, which were not simple short tracts for street distribution to baptized and unbaptized, but¹⁷ reasoned theological discourses to influential Christians. The 'apostles' were mainly from upper middle-class background. There was a missionary phase followed by a seclusion at Albury between 1835 and 1837, after which the policy was to serve as an ecclesiola in ecclesia. In 1856 expectations of the imminent second advent arose as

13. R.L. Lively, 'Catholic Apostolic Church' is the most up to date account of that body. The age needed the teaching of the 'presence and effectual operation of the Holy Ghost... and the nearness of the Second Advent', but the mixture of faith and error of the Catholic Apostolics were a sign for the times, fulfilling Mark 13.22, English Review 9 (1848), quoted in Lively, p.127.
14. AH, 23 Sept.1846, pp.53-54. Norman F.Douty notes seven points of similarity between Seventh-day Adventism and Irvingism. Both came from the conviction of the imminent parousia; both claimed to fulfil the Midnight Cry; both set definite dates; both issued a call out of Babylon, which included Protestantism; both have made high claims for themselves; both have appealed to three supposed proofs: holy living, spiritual gifts, and reading the thought of others; both are alleged to have taught the sinfulness of Christ's human nature, Another Look at Seventh-day Adventism, (Grand Rapids, MI,1962), pp.190-205. Only the first three of Douty's points would really apply to Millerism before October 1844.
15. Gospel Advocate, 1 (1833),126.
16. Woodhouse, one of the apostles, quoted in Lively, p.269.
17. ibid., p.270.

the apostles died.

The British Millerites seem to have little contact with this group, which became increasingly preoccupied with ritualism at the expense of its millennial expectation. The Millerites were not charismatics, were generally not middle-class, nor did they see themselves as a church within a church. They were, to judge from their writings and letters, like their American counterparts, apolitical. Social rights and wrongs and political events went unnoticed, or were mentioned only as an indication that such things were to be expected in the end time. The Catholic Apostolics were socially conservative, opposing Catholic Emancipation, the 1832 Reform Bill, Chartism, and the rise of working class influence. 'We can think of nothing but Reform and Cholera: Both are horried inflictions: The latter may pop away, but the former never can.'

It was only the curiosity of Himes that led to any approach between the Catholic Apostolics and Millerism, however fleeting. He had 'a great desire to learn something about this people who owed their origin humanly speaking, to one of the most pious and elequent preachers of his days, but who was not...without his infirmities'.²⁰ Himes reported on the beliefs without much comment. He was collecting information on 'the

18. ibid., pp.258,268-69; Shepperson in Millennial Dreams in Action, p.49; Lively, p.131; on earlier time setting, Robert Baxter, Narratives of Facts Characterizing the Supernatural Manifestations in Members of Mr Irving's Congregation and Other Individuals, second edition (1833), pp.18-19.
19. Henry Drummond, banker, politician and a leader, at the Albury prophetic conferences and later of the Catholic Apostolic church, quoted in Lively, p.292; 'They offered hope for the oppressed after the advent, and discouraged hopes of amelioration through political action, and so had little appeal for the working class as a mass movement', ibid., pp.271-72; on Drummond, DNB; PFF, III, 434-39.
20. AH, 23 Sept.1846,pp.53-54. Brown was associated with Himes in this quest, Hutchinson possibly also, though only Himes will be mentioned in the text. In America the Apostolics felt that Miller's failed prediction had limited their success, Lively, p.127.

rise and present position of the various bodies of religionists who, during the present century, had begun to look for the return.'²¹ In Hutchinson's visit to Coldstream in 1846, James E. Noble, pastor of the 'Evangelical Union' chapel and his people accepted the advent faith. By 1862, 'while they still [held] the doctrine', they had joined the Catholic Apostolic church. Hutchinson was sympathetic to Catholic Apostolics in 1862.²²

The location of Catholic Apostolic meetings in 1851 shows no more than a random overlap with known Millerite congregations, and no other evidence of interaction. Lively estimates that there were thirty congregations with nearly 6,000 communicants.²³

3. The Christadelphians

This small but energetic group owe their existence as a body to the work of Dr John Thomas, an Englishman who emigrated to the United States and was for a while attracted to the teachings of Alexander Campbell. Campbell and Thomas shared a dislike of sects and parties, but Thomas was too strong and even angular a character to be a follower, finally breaking with Campbell in 1844.²⁴ W.J. Dawson and Henry Hudston, editor and proprietor of the Gospel Banner, a Campbellite paper friendly

21. AH, 20 Jan. 1847, p. 189. Advent expectations were particularly strong in 1856, Lively, p. 131; for earlier hopes, p. 127.
22. EAH, 20 Nov. 1846, p. 40; 1 April 1847, p. 62; AH, 16 Dec. 1862, p. 395. The limit of Hutchinson's agreement with the Catholic Apostolic Church is shown by his wish that God would 'bless and prosper them in their work so far as it is of him', AH, 20 Jan. 1863, p. 20; 27 Jan., p. 27.
23. There were Catholic Apostolic churches in Brighton, Exeter, Plymouth, Radford (Nottingham), and Liverpool, Lively, pp. 116, 260.
24. Thomas attacked 'Scotto-Campbellism' of which Mormonism was 'the natural offspring, Sidney Rigdon being the proof', Herald of the Kingdom, 10 (1860), 66; 'We are the reactionaries provided to check the wild speculations and fanaticism of Scotto-Campbellism, Millerism and Marshism', ibid., p. 86.

to Thomas, were sure that the pre-eminent cause of the ill feeling between the two parties was that 'they once were brethren'. The Campbellites were divided in their attitude to Thomas. James Wallis, editor of the Christian Reformer,²⁵ adhered closely to Campbell's position and opposed Thomas.

Thomas may have been influenced by the teaching of William Miller. He lived through the crises of 1844, while not being a participant. He would have seen the stimulating effect upon many of preaching a definite time for the end of the world, and the subsequent reaction when events²⁶ disproved the prediction. Differing from Campbell in 1834 he maintained that belief, confession, and immersion were part and parcel of, and necessary to the ordinance of purification of sin, styled by Paul, the 'ONE BAPTISM'. It was essential that baptism had been predicted upon a good confession; one not so immersed formed no part of the body²⁷ of Christ.

In 1835 he began to question doctrines concerning the soul, heaven, hell, eternal torment, the devil, and salvation without faith. He came to believe in conditional immortality, and the unconsciousness of the dead. From there Thomas adopted a position not usually associated with conditional immortality, that, 'the clerical devil is a mythological fiction...and that the devil of scripture is...first, sin manifested individually in and through our common nature; second, sin in ecclesiastical and political manifestations'. His third point was that without faith there is no salvation. By 1847 he had developed twenty proposi-

25. Roberts, Thomas; Billington, 'The Churches of Christ', pp.24-25; W.J.Dawson, H.Hudston, Reply to the Impeachment of the Gospel Banner (Nottingham, 1850), p.27.

26. For possible influence of Miller on Thomas, Wilson, 'Social Aspects', p.866.

27. Roberts, Thomas, pp.244-47.

tions, including an interpretation of the Abrahamic covenant involving Christ's reign over the house of Jacob in the covenanted land. His doctrine of the Trinity was said by a detractor, with some justification, to be Sabellian. To Thomas a possible coincidence of his views²⁸ with those of Sabellius proved the latter to be true.

Conditional immortality became a key issue to the Thomasites, whereas the Millerites considered it peripheral and divisive before 1844. The Millerites prior to October 1844 did not discuss the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, but there is no hint of departure from Chalcedonic orthodoxy, unless it might be in an unguarded phrase of homespun theology. Some sections of post-disappointment Millerism were Arian in theology. The Christian Connexion, from which some Millerites including Himes had been drawn, were Arian or semi-Arian. Himes was accused in 1846 of denying the Godhead of Christ, and therefore not fit to attend the Evangelical Alliance. Conditionalism and a limited view on the divinity²⁹ of Christ have sometimes gone together.

Baptism could be held at the end of a short series of Millerite meetings. It took longer to become a Christadelphian, for baptism without an intelligible confession of Christ was worthless. A two-year period of instruction seems to have been common, and a three-month period was mentioned as something remarkable, made possible only by the quick apprehension of the believer. In descriptions of the convert, the word 'intelligent' appears more frequently than other adjectives. Saving truth for the Christadelphians was understanding and accepting a system of beliefs, and these took time to assimilate. There was no hope for those not fully instructed and baptized, although the

28. Roberts, loc.cit.

29. Schwarz, Lightbearers, pp.167-68,181; Zion's Herald, cited in AH, 23 Dec.1846,p.157.

full instruction may have been more important even than the baptism.

Brother Milne of Galashiels in instructing his sixteen year old daughter 'made it a matter of the first importance too instil into her mind a correct idea of the Scripural doctrine of eternal life...[he] took care³¹ that she understood her present mortal condition'.

Those who came to Christadelphian beliefs were usually expected to be rebaptized, even if previously immersed. Most of the members of the Mumblesecclesia were rebaptized on joining the main Christadelphian body³² as they had been established under the Dowie schism. The same applied to members baptized into Dealtry's fellowship after they had passed from Millerism, through Chistadelphianism, to schism. Perhaps it is a reflection of the relative importance of baptism in Christadelphian thinking that open communion was practised, though sometimes condescendingly. There was pressure from some ecclesias to exclude the unbaptized, but this was resisted by the leadership. However, the ecclesias often refused to break bread with schismatics from the movement, or members of³³ different sects.

Apostasy was severely viewed. A couple joined the party of George Dawson, then 'in addition to this treacherous act, removed to Edinburgh and joined the Dowieites'. The use of the word treachery in connection

30. Wilson, 'Social Aspects', pp.851-52,909; Ambassador, 3 (1866), 235; Roberts, Thomas, pp.27,28,30. It was noted of the death of a girl that the 'visitation was particularly calamitous as she had begun to manifest an interest in the truth'. The assumption is that, having died without full understanding, she was eternally lost, Ambassador, 1 (1864),16,47-48.

31. ibid., 4 (1867),59.

32. ibid., 3 (1866),211. An ex-Adventist and an ex-Baptist were re-immersed, ibid., p.99. The Whitby group Dealtry raised up in heresy were set in order 'in conversation, re-immersion and organisation as an ecclesia', ibid., 4(1867),286; 5(1868), 24,36.

33. A correspondent put forward five reasons for excluding the unbaptized and these were refuted in detail by the editor, ibid., 2 (1865),256; 3 (1866),117,158-60; Christadelphian, 9 (1872), 320.

with apostasy suggests that loyalty was owed to leader and ecclesia rather than to any larger body. Although Thomas claimed no special revelation, he held a place among the Christadelphians that probably surpassed that of J.N.Darby among the Brethren. 'To the charge of holding that the knowledge of the Scripture, in the writings of Dr Thomas has reached a finality, we plead guilty.' Strong language was used in denunciation of the sects and of the Church of England. 'Victoria is the Popess of Britain...the defender, not of the faith, but of the system of blasphemy, carved out of Popery by the adulterous uxoricide Henry VIII.' Followers admitted that 'Much acerbity of spirit'³⁴ impeded their leader's usefulness.

The Christadelphians were definite that they attracted the poor, not the rich. By contrast, wrote The Ambassador, the Irvingites were rich, as they paid tithes of all they possessed. The friends of Christadelphian brother William Newport of Weston-super-Mare were 'well-to-do people much opposed to truth'. An analysis of the occupations of recorded converts over five years shows that the majority were manual workers, with a sprinkling of tradesmen and the occasional professional man.³⁵ Table I below illustrates this. Both Table I and Table II are compiled from the Ambassador, 1864-68.

34. ibid., 3(1866),235; 4(1867),155,219. A defection to the Irvingites was attributed to the double influence of 'Irvingite seduction and Aberdeen frigidarianism', The Christadelphian, 9 (1874),408; Messenger of the Gospel, 1 (1874),64.
35. Ambassador, 3 (1866),46; 4 (1867),287; Christadelphian, 9 (1872), 320.

Table I

CHRISTADELPHIAN CONVERTS 1864 -1868
RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL BACKGROUND
Men

Denomination	Profes- sional	Clerical	Trade	Artisan	Relative of believer	Not known	Total
Adventist			1	2			3
Baptist		1	3				4
Campbellite				3		1	4
Church of England		2	2	10	1		15
Church of Scotland							
Congregational		1					1
Dawsonian				1			1
Independent	1		1				2
Methodist			1	3			4
Mormon				1			1
Brethren							
Prim. Methodist				4			4
Roman Catholic				2			2
Scotch Baptist							
Scots Presbyterian			1				1
Wesleyan				2			2
Wesleyan Reformed							
Neutral/Indifferent				6		2	8
Unknown	1	1	3	12	1	2	20
	2	5	12	46	2	6	71

There are some indications of the religious background of the persons attracted to Christadelphianism. Table II gives an analysis of converts baptized between 1864 and 1868 and shows, not unexpectedly, a disproportionately high ratio of recruits from restorationist groups. Millerites were likely to be particularly susceptible, although the numbers to be recruited were rather small. Four names have been traced in addition to Richard Robertson who maintained a foot in both camps, and troublesome Dealtry. The uncertainty that existed for many years regarding Thomas's relationship to the Campbellites made that body open

to Christadelphian proselytism.

Table II

CHRISTADELPHIAN BAPTISMS 1864 - 1868
FORMER RELIGIOUS ALLEGIANCE

	% Men of 85		% Women of 94		% Total of 179	
Adventist	3	3.5	1	1.1	4	2.2
Baptist	10	11.8	4	4.2	14	7.8
Campbellite	6	7.1	3	3.2	9	5.0
Church of England	16	18.8	11	11.7	27	15.1
Church of Scotland	1	1.2	-	-	1	.5
Congregational	1	1.2	1	1.1	2	1.1
Dawsonian	1	1.2	1	1.1	2	1.1
Independent	2	2.4	3	3.2	5	2.8
Methodist	7	8.2	2	2.1	9	5.0
Mormon	1	1.2	-	-	1	.5
Plymouth Brethren	-	-	3	3.2	3	1.7
Primitive Methodist	4	4.7	1	1.1	5	2.8
Roman Catholic	2	2.3	1	1.1	3	1.7
Scotch Baptist	1	1.2	-	-	1	.5
Scots Presbyterian	1	1.2	-	-	1	.5
Wesleyan	3	3.5	3	3.2	6	3.3
Wesleyan Reformed	-	-	1	1.1	1	.5
Neutral/Indifferent	11	12.9	5	5.3	16	8.9
Son/daughter/wife of believer	15	17.6	54	57.4	69	38.5
	85		94		179	
No information	69		27		96	
	154		121		275	

The number of men in Table I is smaller than that in Table II since the Ambassador sometimes listed only occupation or former faith and not both.

Since some ideas of both Irvingites and Campbellites were akin to those of Thomas, there was a greater need to distinguish truth from error. An Irvingite lecturer had 'encumbered what little truth he uttered, with a great deal of nonsense, peculiar to that section of the apostacy'. In replying to this lecturer, J.Andrews, a Christadelphian of New Barnet, found commendable discussion at the close of each lec-

37. Billington, 'Churches of Christ', p.25; Ambassador, 3 (1866),211. In Newcastle a brother was working with a group 'who held part of the truth in a Campbellite way', ibid., 5 (1868),119.

ture, with Baptists, Methodists, and Plymouth Brethren participating.

There were those like Joseph Tompkins, a Birmingham gold and silver engraver, who had 'formerly been neutral in religious matters, through the absurdity of orthodoxy, which had nearly driven him to the length of repudiating the Bible as an invention'. W.Osborne, an Independent, a leading tradesman and holder of civic office in Tewkesbury, read Panton Ham on the mortal soul, but did not fully understand the kingdom until instructed by a Birmingham brother. T.Fuller of Leeds was once opposed to truth, even after reading Elpis Israel and several issues of the Herald of the Kingdom. He was visited by an Irvingite evangelist, 'who, hearing of his heretical tendencies, evidently thought him a likely subject'.³⁹

Until after October 1844 Millerism concentrated on the great event, and generally avoided detailed speculation, even on the resurrection or advent. There is no large body of correspondence from English Millerites to tell of their speculation. The mind of a curious Christadelphian pondered how the wicked dead would be clothed at the resurrection, assuming both righteous and wicked rose in a state of nudity. Questions were raised concerning the method of conveyance to meet the Lord in the air and whether a man would have time to settle life insurance or other matters. Other questions that agitated the brethren were the lawfulness of marrying an unbeliever and the use of alcohol at communion or anywhere.⁴⁰ The Baptist John Cox had earlier noted that it 'is easy to raise many curious questions about the second coming...the process of

38. Ambassador, 4 (1867),60; compare 3 (1866),40-46.

39. ibid, 3 (1866),99,117; 4 (1867),284-85; J.Panton Ham, Scripture Doctrine concerning Man in Death (1850); other titles listed in Froom, CFF, II,425.

40. Ambassador, 3 (1866),91-96,139; 4 (1867), 127; Christadelphian, 11 (1874),342.

judgment, the state and employment of the risen saints'.⁴¹

The Christadelphians did not systematically compile statistics of membership. Not having a denominational name before 1864, the ecclesias cannot be identified in the 1851 Religious Census. In 1864 the average⁴² ecclesia comprised 39 members.

4. The Campbellites, or, The Churches of Christ

The followers of John Glas (1695-1773) and those of Robert Sandeman (1723-1771) provided the chief recruiting ground for Archibald McLean who founded the Scotch Baptists in 1765. In America Alexander Campbell first promulgated restorationist ideas among the Baptists, his first paper being the Christian Baptist. In London, William Jones, the principal elder of the Scotch Baptists, read Campbell's Christian Baptist and Millennial Harbinger. In 1835 Jones began the Millennial Harbinger and Voluntary Church Advocate, printing Campbell's views. When Jones first closed his paper to Campbell, and in 1836 discontinued it, James Wallis, a draper, and a leader of the Scotch Baptists in Nottingham, started the Christian Messenger and Reformer in 1837. This brought together a number of restorationist groups to form a British Campbellite⁴³ movement.

The first British General Meeting was held in Edinburgh in 1842, the place indicative of the strong roots of Campbellism in the Scotch

41. J.Cox, A Millenarian's Answer, p.15.

42. Wilson, 'Social Aspects', pp.919-20.

43. David M.Thompson, Let Sects and Parties Fall (Birmingham,1980), pp, 16-17,33; A.C.Watters, 'History of the British Churches of Christ' (unpublished Ph.D.dissertation, University of Edinburgh,1947),pp.4-44,70-71; Billington, 'The Churches of Christ' pp.21-24; Campbell advocated family prayers, a practice he believed to be discouraged by Sandemanianism, Gospel Banner, (1849),297-301; Autobiography of William Jones. Edited by his son (1846).

Baptist movement. However, as their first British magazine was published in Nottingham, this became, in Thomas's phrase, the 'Jerusalem of their reformation', where 2,000 believers assembled in 1847 to listen to
⁴⁴
 Campbell.

Campbell thought that there were three dispensations, patriarchal, Jewish, and Christian, a further appearance of the Joachimite triad. His doctrine of conversion listed faith, repentance, confession, baptism, and the gift of the Holy Spirit.
⁴⁵
 Although Campbell stated his creed in 1835, there continued to be considerable latitude of opinion among his followers. There was insistence on the Campbellite reformation as a return to gospel order, with suggestions that all
⁴⁶
 societies founded prior to that reformation were apostate.

The Millennial Harbinger by its very title indicated that Campbell was concerned with the eschaton. He discussed Miller's seven lines of evidence pointing to 1843. He felt aggrieved that he had given so much space to Miller's views that some wondered if he had accepted them, while Himes had maintained a 'studied and obstinate silence on Campbell's views...out of contempt...fear...or...ignorance'. Walter Scott wrote a favourable report of a Second Advent camp meeting in America. Many American Campbellites joined Miller, whose followers had a more clearly defined set of beliefs on the advent. The Millerite Signs

44. Roberts, Thomas, p.159; Thompson, Let Sects, p.20.

45. Watters, 'History', pp.51,54,67-68,87. A critic claimed that according to Campbellism, faith was a convertible term with baptism, no man could be saved who had not been baptized, and thirdly, that pardon and peace were received in the act of immersion. It was 'essentially a heresy' which 'gradually advances, by means of ridicule and a peculiar sort of American neology, till it has led its followers into a bold and undisguised scepticism', Inquirer, 3(1840),136-37.

46. Billington, 'Churches of Christ'. p.23;

printed articles by and about Campbell.

In Britain the Campbellites were susceptible to Millerism because of their American orientation, their ultra-biblical literalism, and their recent and unstable organization. In 1841 George C.Reid had written a strong letter urging against Millerite speculation, and for speedy election and ordination of elderships in each church, together with a plan for maintaining effective travelling evangelists. The letter was influential as regards organization, but did not quench millenarian concerns.⁴⁸ The interest of Campbell and his British followers in Miller's ideas was reflected in the Messenger. Much of this was reprinted from the American Millennial Harbinger. W.W.Eaton, editor of The Christian, was quoted on Miller, 'a pious, zealous man', looking to 1843. Eaton himself dared not assure a sinner that the coming would be so delayed. The Messenger believed current investigation would make the truth shine brighter before the end of the year. Begg's and Miller's theories were examined, for 'if the Lord is to come personally in 1843 or 1847 we ought to know it as well as others...and arrange our business and make our calculations accordingly.⁴⁹ B.W.Stone set out Miller's calculations, 'to be determined by the public'. George Bush, though opposed to Miller, was cited to show that once Miller's premises were granted, 'we cannot see how their chronology is to be disputed. We firmly believe we are now upon the borders of the momentous changes predicted'. In 1843 the Messenger ran a series on the coming of the

47. PFF, IV, 265; Wellcome, pp.300-03; Sandeen, p.45; CM, 7 (Aug.1843),204; 7 (Sept.1843),258-59; Billington, 'Churches of Christ', p.25; ST, 6 April 1842,p.4; 13 Dec.1843,p.141-42.

48. Billington, 'Churches of Christ',p.25; Thompson, Let Sects,p.29.

49. CM, 2 (April,May 1838),41,85; 4(July,Oct.1840),160-66,286; 4(Feb.1841),425-26; 5 (May 1841),92-97.

Lord, some articles referring to Millerism.

This volume of information on Miller, even though unsympathetic, must have prepared the readers for Millerite preachers. David Thompson suggests that the split in the South Bridge Hall congregation in Edinburgh, which affected other Scottish causes, may have been from Millerite influence, though he adduces no evidence of Millerite activity there at that time. No Millerite preachers are known to have visited Scotland⁵¹ before 1846, but tracts had circulated.

In 1844 Campbell largely kept out prophetic speculation from the Harbinger. The Messenger in Britain reported the teaching of Dealtry and Micklewood in Nottingham: while there was much Bible truth introduced, their conclusions appeared in too many instances to be mere assumptions. Wallis had attended lectures and asked questions. Campbell's views were printed alongside. Wallis had three objections to Millerite theories in addition to the failure of their 1843 prediction. First, they maintained it was not the time to proclaim remission of sins by immersions. Secondly, like the Brethren, they considered it useless to try to restore ancient Christianity or erect churches according to gospel order. Thirdly, the consequences of such views 'must necessarily be, that it is no sin to omit the positive institutions of the Lord' on Sunday. In fact, however, there is no evidence that Millerites did omit⁵² breaking of bread.

The visit of Himes to Exeter in 1846 was noted, together with the revised date for the advent, 1847, three previous predictions having failed. Campbell in his prediction with Owen had stated that the

50. CM, 6(Sept.,Nov.1842),226-28,296-99; 7(1843-44),35-36,56-60,75-80,127-28,132-37,156-63,165-68,204-06,261-67,314-17,257-65.

51. Thompson, Let Sects, p.38.

52. CM, 8 (June 1844),294-96,302;

sanctuary would be cleansed in 1847, but his meaning was very different from that of the Millerites. This evoked a reply from the European Herald.⁵³

The Gospel Banner was founded in January 1848 by William Hudston, printer of the Messenger, who wished to break Wallis's attempted monopoly on Campbellite publishing. The Banner 'became the impartial medium of both sides of all questions'. Among its six objects was 'the survey of the entire field of the ancient hope...to understand the true doctrine of the Second Advent'. The editor invited articles from advocates both of the spiritual reign and the personal reign of Christ in a theological essay contest.⁵⁴ In 1848 Wallis changed the name of his paper from Christian Messenger to British Millennial Harbinger. The 'prophecy department' in the Harbinger was on the whole unfavourable to premillennialism, but it is significant that Wallis found it a necessary feature.⁵⁵

The Nottingham congregation of Campbellites and Millerites were associated, the former beginning in 1836, the latter in 1844. David Widdowson, a lace dealer, was secretary to the Millerites, a contributor to the Banner, and provided a link between Thomas and the Millerites.⁵⁶

53. CMFM, 2 (1846),366; 3 (1847),135-37; No.7 of the EAH is missing, VTGT, 24 June 1846,pp.101-02; CMFM, 2 (1846),529-30,559-64; 3 (1847),135-37; Beddome also wrote to the Gospel Banner, 2 (1849),14-21,132-46.
54. Roberts, Thomas, p.162; Billington, 'Churches of Christ', p.25. Articles by and features on Thomas appeared in Gospel Banner, 1(1848),47,70-71,98-101,106,114,159-61,facing 170,173-79,189-92; 2 (1849),21-23; 3 (1850),18-19,facing 35,72-74,129-32,154-58,180-86,231-33,272-77,332-36; something rather similar had occurred earlier, CM 4 (July 1840),166;
55. Brit.Mill.Harb., 1(1848),238,242,284-88,324-26,377-79;429-34,472-76; 2(1849),39-41,81-83,125,275-76,365; 3(1850),138-39,184-85; 4 (1851), 60-66,117-121,153-39-203-06,208-11,327-29.
56. Watters, 'History', p.118; CM,8(1844),313; Gospel Banner, 1 (1848),275-78; 2 (1849),128-31,166-71; Thompson, Let Sects, p.44.

Himes interviewed Wallis, noted that many members of the Barkergate Campbellite chapel were premillennialists, and preached there as Micklewood and Dealtry had done two years before.⁵⁷ George Greenwell, the Campbellite junior minister in Nottingham, occasionally ministered to the Adventists there. Micklewood, whom the Banner praised as an 'able expositor', hoped to procure new subscribers. Both Micklewood and Dealtry had studied with Wallis. Henry Clarke, the Millerite, may be⁵⁸ the contributor to the Banner in 1848.

The Tanner sisters corresponded with the Banner, and Benjamin Beddome wrote to both Millerites and Campbellites. The links were apparently more extensive than the Nottingham connection, although Dealtry⁵⁹ and Micklewood may have been the common factor.

Micklewood regretted the unhappy divisions between Campbellites and Millerites. One large body was 'labouring chiefly to revive the primitive faith and form of the church, another labouring chiefly in relation to the hope and power of Christianity, to the neglect of the faith and form'. The former, for lack of the hope, were laying foundation stones, not raising superstructure. The latter, feared Micklewood, would be found to have been raising castles in the air for lack of faith and proper admission. This 1847 statement to Wallis shows the divided loyalties of a leading Millerite. By July 1848 the Barkergate and New Radford congregations were somewhat estranged.⁶⁰ Reabsorbing some former members who had become Millerites, the Churches of Christ grew steadily in numbers, reaching 2,500 by the end of the period considered

57. Billington, 'Churches of Christ', p.25; AH, 18 Nov.1846,p.117; Nottingham Review, 17 May,1844,p.8.

58. AH, 18 Nov.1846,p.118; Thompson, Let Sects, p.36; Gospel Banner, 1 (1848), 98-101, facing 207; Clarke was described as 'of Lincoln'.

59. AH, 23 Oct.1847,p.94.

60. CMFM, 3 (1847),473; Roberts, Thomas,p.158.

in this study. 1930 was the peak year of membership.

Table III

<u>Year</u>	<u>Members</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Members</u>
1842	1,300	1891	9,511
1852	2,081	1901	12,224
1861	2,528	1911	14,725
1871	3,776	1914	15,228
1881	6,451	1930	16,596

5. The Latter-Day Saints in Britain

The story of the Mormon mission to Britain provides parallels and contrasts with the Millerites in being American based, in evangelistic methods, in the literature produced, in social classes attracted, in teachings, in the factors that made it attractive, and in its decline. The Millerites were conscious that they might be confused with other groups.⁶²

In America Millerites and Mormons do not seem to have been mistaken for each other, but Millerites in Britain were often thought to be Latter-Day Saints. R.P.Blakeney, the anti-Roman curate of St Mary's, Nottingham, wanted to know the difference between the two groups. Himes⁶³ was able to inform him, and count Blakeney as friendly to his cause. The Millerites regarded Mormonism as a skilful, but 'vile religious imposter...proved such by its fruits'. The Mormons had a retort for the Millerites: 'We do not come as uninspired men with an opinion like Mr.

61. Thompson, Let Sects, pp.204-05.

62. AH, 26 Oct.1850,p.308 (a rewrite of an earlier article), ST, 25 May 1842,p.61.

63. Plymouth DWJ, 18 Feb.1846,p.2; 9 April 1846,p.3; AH, 18 Nov.,p.117.

Miller and others, but with Thus saith the Lord.⁶⁴

The Mormon mission to Britain seems to have originated when Parley P. Pratt met in Canada some English immigrants who had been interested in the teachings of Edward Irving. Pratt was struck by the similarities in the teachings: the general apostasy of the church after apostolic times, the need for divine authority in church organization, renewal of the gifts of the Spirit, the gathering of Israel, and the premillennial advent. He wrote to England and received interested replies; the immigrants also wrote to their relatives. Some English were included in the mission team sent to Britain in 1837 and in the Mission of the Quorum of the Twelve apostles, 1840.⁶⁵

The missionaries were expected to travel 'without purse or scrip'. their primary proselyting materials including the Book of Mormon, Doctrine and Covenants, church periodicals, and handbills announcing meetings. They worked at first as they had in America by taking the message to relatives and friends.⁶⁶ Chapels were opened for them to preach, but when Kimball began baptizing, they were closed, and the missionaries used the open air, private houses, and hired halls. The missionaries, themselves working class, found that they could attract to outdoor meetings the poor, who were too ill-dressed to attend 'sacred' places. Thomas Smith, self-described as an 'illiterate ploughboy', was astonished at the wonder-working hand of God in his life. Even their

64. A Mormon preacher 'made some very excellent remarks (in themselves) but with a design to deceive the unwary...and lead them off to Nauvoo', ST, 1 Jan. 1842, p. 150; 27 July, p. 135; EAH, 10 Oct. 1846, p. 27; MCN, 3 Aug. 1844, p. 47.

65. P. A. M. Taylor, Expectations Westward. The Mormons and the Emigration of their British Converts in the Nineteenth Century (Edinburgh & London, 1965), p. 19; Lively, pp. 168, 175; for a history of the mission to England, LDSMS, 1 (April 1841), 289-96.

66. LDSMS, 1 (April 1841), 289. Henry Cuesden arrived at Bradford from Burnley without a sixpence. He was directed by the Spirit to find lodgings, and employment for his wife, LDSMS, 2 (April 1842), 192.

opponents were forced to grudging admiration: 'The assiduity, zeal, and self-denial, which the tools and dupes of Mormonism have displayed...are worthy of a better cause'.⁶⁷

The Mormons made their converts not from the 'lowest ranks', but from the 'industrious poor'. In fact, it is not clear if they sought to evangelize the very poor. 'Those sought and obtained by the Mormon apostles are mechanics and artisans who have saved a little money, who are remarkable for their moral character, but who are exposed to delusion from having...studied the Bible with an ill-balanced mind.'⁶⁸ The 'preachers generally begin by insinuating among the astonished natives of rural villages, or in our larger towns, that our Bible has suffered in translation'.⁶⁹ The Home Missionary Magazine felt that the Mormons were 'deluding the ignorant and the irreligious...not only some of the most degraded of the people, but even respectable farmers...'.⁷⁰ The areas where the Mormons met their greatest successes do not correspond with the areas of Millerite strength. Herefordshire and Gloucestershire, particularly Ledbury, were notable Mormon areas. Mormonism was a mainly urban religion in Britain, whereas its appeal had been mainly rural in America.⁷¹ The British Mormons achieved a measure of organization never reached by the Millerites. In 1840 conferences were held in Manchester and two other places. The council of the Twelve was operating a year later. Certificates were issued showing membership and

67. Lively, pp.165,168,171; Taylor, Expectations,p.25; LDSMS, 11 (1849),59.

68. Athenaeum,No.711 (3 April 1841),252; LDSMS, 1 (Feb.1841),263, quoted in Lively, pp.264-65; CEQR, 12 (1842),553, reviewing Henry Caswall's book, see below n.104

70. Home Missionary Magazine, NS 1(1841),287-90 (p.287); Lively, p.195.

71. Lively, pp.175-76,276. The rather frequent references to the LDS in the Home Missionary Magazine, are indicative of the fact that both missions were working for the same social groups, NS 2 (1842),34-35; NS 3 (1843),30; John D.Gay, Geography of Religion in England (1971), p.193.

ordination.

The British Saints had no official publication before 1840, when the Latter-Day Saints Millennial Star was started. It built up to a circulation of 23,000 for some years prior to 1852. This rise had not been without difficulties. Pratt had talked of discontinuing at the end of the second volume because of 'apathy and indifference' and the lack of funds. The Lord was not pleased that his word should be so little sought after. Many thousands of Saints neglected to buy the Star, yet had money for needless ornaments. The Glasgow conference urged continuance of the paper. In 1843 the American headquarters advised cessation. There was similar apathy in 1850, with only one third of the 27,000 Saints taking the Star. Some were too poor to pay 2 1/2d a month, so it was proposed to reduce the rate to three for 3d, presumably⁷³ so the richer could share with the poorer.

Opponents admitted that the Star was 'written with a wonderful degree of ingenuity and acquaintance with the popular theology of the day. The Mormons, remote as they are, seem quite up to the whole⁷⁴ Anglican controversy in all its aspects.'

The voluntary system of support for preachers did not always work well. There were 'drones' among the members, who, when an elder made his wants known - a coat, shoes, or travelling expenses - declared that the New Testament apostles had travelled without charge. Such members proposed their readiness to endure all hardships, but stopped at paying rents for meeting houses. They protested that they thought there would be nothing to pay in this church. The Ipswich group were so inhospit-

72. LDSMS, 1 (July 1840),67,84,86; 1 (April 1841),301-05; 2 (Nov.1841),105; 10 (1848),252-53.

73. LDSMS, 2 (Dec.1841),124; 12 (1850),40; Lively,pp.182-83,223.

74. British Critic, 32 (1842),513-14.

able to a visiting preacher that they were disfellowshipped.

What was the attraction of Mormonism? To a churchman, just as Mohammedanism was the result of the greater ancient heresies, so Mormonism seemed 'but the unchecked completion of the spirit of dissent'. There was perhaps not any sectarian body that could not find its essential element of opposition to the Church embodied in Mormonism. Baptism by immersion had come from the Baptists; tongues, prophecies and revelations were adapted verbatim from the Irvingites; the qualified acceptance of the Bible was identical with the Southcottians. The literal gathering of Israel and personal reign of Christ upon earth, 'which, though it be true in a Catholic sense, yet, as it is understood by the Mormonites, is the ancient heresy of the Millenarian, and the opinion of a considerable school of interpreters among ourselves'.⁷⁶

Baptism was considered essential to salvation. Lapsed Mormons were rebaptized, but the priesthood was not taken from a man by rebaptism. Reordination was not necessary. The act of baptism sometimes effected a physical cure. However, those administering the rite should be careful not to drown the candidate.⁷⁷

Greenwell, a Campbellite leader, sent a five point critique of Mormon teaching to a colleague who faced the challenge in Stalybridge: a new Bible, a new priesthood, a new series of miracles, a new moral system (though polygamy was not revealed until 1852), and a new social system.⁷⁸ This would be attractive to those whom Lively sees as drawn

75. LDSMS, 12 (1850),11; 11 (1849),32.

76. Christian Remembrancer, 4 (1842),291; J.B.Rollo, Mormonism Exposed, reviewed in LDSMS, 2 (July 1841),43.

77. LDSMS, 1 (Sept.1840),120-23; 4 (Jan.1844),143; 8 (Nov.1846),136-37; 12 (1850),143.

78. CMFM, 1 (1845),330-333; compare pp.360-63, for an account of the Stalybridge debate. Millerites talked of 'possessing a new Bible, or the old one better understood', Wellcome, p.536.

to Mormonism: seekers, and religious itinerants. Speaking in tongues, visions, and instances of healing reinforced the credibility of the doctrine. The Saints quoted John Wesley's ninety-fourth sermon to prove his belief in spiritual gifts and the apostasy of the church.⁷⁹

Miracles of healing were frequently reported in the Star. The Saints do not appear to have anointed the sick as suggested in James 5.14, but their miracles included those of Dunn's third category, healing by touching an elder's clothes, or even the stick of an absent believer. Accounts of devils cast out, with both names and numbers of the fiends, and their extraordinary persistence in re-entering those from whom they had been exorcized, 'will, no doubt, seem new and strange to many who read it, and perhaps to some incredible, but not to those who are true believers in the word of God'. A prophecy concerning the future apostasy of a believer was written and sealed in 1838 and fulfilled three years later. One who had been healed of blindness and denied the experience 'died a monument of the displeasure of a just God for hypocrisy'.⁸⁰

The charismatic figure of Joseph Smith, a possible president of United States, with a new revelation, the dogmatic certainty of his emissaries, plus millennial expectations, formed a strong appeal to those who might at other times and places have become Southcottians or Irvingites, or Millerites. There were defections from Millerism to the Saints. Mormonism gave the chance of a new status. It was 'the little stone hewn out of the mountain', an allusion to Daniel 2 with strong eschatological implications. The ominous signs of the times reinforced

79. Lively, p.173; Home Missionary Magazine, NS 2 (1842), 34-35.

80. Twenty cases were reported in one issue although this was unusually high total, LDSMS, 2 (May 1841), 8; 9 (1847), 219; 10 (1848), 158-59; 11 (July 1849), 202-08; Dunn, Jesus and the Spirit, p.163; J.H.Noyes, the communitarian, practised healing gifts, John McKelvie Whitworth, God's Blueprints, p.113-15.

81

the appeal.

James Belbiston withdrew from his church (denomination unspecified), because of a 'full conviction of the necessity of yielding ⁸² obedience to the truth' as taught by the Latter-Day Saints. Joseph Orton was 'naturally sedate and studious...brought up Church of England...religiously inclined...wandered from Church to Church to find one whose doctrines were in harmony with scriptures..often amid the... busy throng oblivious...[he] prayed, passing among the streets of Birmingham'. ⁸³ The Saints had particular success in winning over the United Brethren, a schismatic group from the Primitive Methodists in Herefordshire. Their superintendent, Thomas Kington, became an itinerant Mormon missionary. The preacher of the Universal Christian ⁸⁴ Church, Bradford, became a Mormon. These examples suggest that once a break had been made with the major denominations, it was easier to move to a body further removed from the Christian tradition. 'A Staunch Wesleyan' complained of Mormon inroads into that communion, but the letter is so highly coloured as to sound like a hoax, although the Star ⁸⁵ appeared to take it seriously.

Malcolm Thorp has analyzed the previous religious affiliation of 200 English Mormons. Nearly one third were from minor denominations or persons without previous church connections. Forty per cent of the

81. LDSMS, 4(1843-44), 126-27, 141-42, 172, 186; 5(1844-45), 11-12, 159, 198-99.

82. LDSMS, 11 (1849), 220-21.

83. Taylor, Expectations, pp. 30-31.

84. The United Brethren numbered about 400 in small groups over 15-20 miles. Forty preachers and about 120 members were baptized which opened the door to about 40 preaching places, LDSMS, 1 (1840-41), 72, 82, 305; Taylor, Expectations, p. 37.

85. Copied from the Manx Liberal, 31 Oct. 1840, cited in LDSMS, 2 (May 1841), 6-7. Mormon converts in America were mainly poor Methodists and Baptists, 'as well as poor among those who, because of disaffection with existing churches, had a history of wandering from church to church', Lively, pp. 165-66.

converts might be classed as 'primitivist seekers' who went from one church to another in search of religious truth. Henry Savage was taken to Methodist meetings as a boy, but after service in the navy he felt something was wrong with Methodism. He investigated the doctrines of the Baptists, Spiritual Israelites (Wroeites), Trivinites, Millerites, and other sects and parties, as well as Thomas Paine, Lord Byron, and 86 others. Mormonism brought him satisfaction and baptism.

86a
Table IV

CROSSTABULATION OF PREVIOUS RELIGIOUS
AFFILIATION AND CLASS OF ENGLISH MORMON CONVERTS

Religious Denominations	Middle Class		Lower Middle Class		Artisan		Working Class		Total	
	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%	No	%
Church of Eng.	7	13.5	7	13.5	6	11.5	32	61.5	52	25.1
Methodist	8	13.5	6	10.2	10	17.0	35	59.3	59	28.5
Prim. Methodist	0		0		1	33.3	2	66.7	3	1.4
Baptist	6	40.0	4	26.7	2	13.3	3	20.0	15	7.3
Independent	2	16.7	2	16.7	2	16.7	6	50.0	12	5.8
Presbyterian	0		0		0		1	100.0	1	.5
Rel.inclined but not affiliated	2	7.1	3	11.1	6	22.2	16	59.3	27	13.0
Other Denominations	8	21.1	6	15.8	2	5.3	22	57.9	38	18.4
Totals	33	15.9	28	13.5	29	14.0	117	56.5	207	

Taylor listed Mormon emigrants by occupation. 22% were general labourers, 15% miners, and 10% in the metal and engineering trades.

86. Thorp, 'Mormon Converts', pp.54-55,60,66.

86a *ibid.*, p.66.

Both Thorp's and Taylor's tables are undated, but refer to the first two decades of British Mormonism

1.67% were professional men and 1.6% clerks. The numbers of domestic servants was surprisingly low at .79%, although some may be included in the 11.05% miscellaneous.⁸⁷

National figures for occupations and nonconformity were:

Table V ^{87a}

Occupation/status	Whole society	Nonconformity	WM	PM	B & C
Aristocracy	1.4				
Merchants/ manufacturing	2.2	2.2	1.7	0.5	5.4
Tradesmen/ shopkeepers	6.2	7.1	5.8	3.9	8.2
Farmer	14.0	5.35	5.5	5.6	7.1
Artisans	23.5	59.4	62.7	47.7	63.0
Colliers/miners	2.5	6.6	7.6	12.5	2.1
Labourers	17.0	10.8	9.5	16.1	3.9
Other occupations	33.2	8.6	7.2	13.7	10.3
WM	Wesleyan Methodist				
PM	Primitive "				
B & C	Baptist and Congregationalist				

Thorp lists as reasons given for conversion to Mormonism: primitive simplicity, 25.7%; spiritual manifestations, 17.1%; concepts of authority, 10%; reading the Book of Mormon, 8.5%; Voice of Warning, 7.1%; plainness of doctrine, 6.4%; difference from other religions, 4.3%; millennial teachings, 4.3%. Other or associated reasons were the doctrine of eternal torment, anticlericalism, dislike of sects and parties, a crisis experience such as bereavement, illness, economic

87. Taylor, Expectations, p.150; Gilbert, 'Nonconformity', pp.162,174.

87a Gilbert, 'Nonconformity', p.174

hardship or spiritual despair. Working-class people identified with working-class preachers. Some who gave as their reason Parley Pratt's popular 1841 Voice of Warning may have been attracted by its millenarian content.⁸⁸

The millenarian ideas of the Mormons appear to contain a certain ambivalence, even in the preface to the first number of the Star. Had Mormons not been preaching the end of the world the Millerites might not have been confused with them. However, the urgent need to build the temple in Nauvoo tended to predominate. The most important duty of the Saints was to their dead.⁸⁹ Millennial expectations were coupled with the emigration to the United States. Emigration was very much promoted in the 1840s, by trade unions, religious and other groups, as well as 'more sober organisations'. Taylor does not consider that the Mormons merely exploited this enthusiasm. They were aware of the danger of persons joining just to be helped with emigration. Most of the emigrants were Mormons some time before emigrating, and there seems very little connection between Mormon and the general British emigration figures. The millennial kingdom on earth was to be some time in the twentieth century. In the meantime, the believers could physically flee from Babylon by emigration. As time went on, the Saints exchanged space for time; their task was to build the kingdom of God on earth, no matter how long the parousia was delayed.⁹⁰

However, emigration was encouraged. It was an escape from poverty, the 'channel to the land of Zion'. Mrs Dive of Luton versified, 'Oh!

88. Thorp, 'Mormon Converts', pp.54-58,63.

89. For LDS millenarian ideas, Tuveson, Redeemer Nation, pp.175-86; Lively, p.180. Millenarianism alone did not attract working class followers, as is shown by the Catholic Apostolic Church, Lively, pp.258,272; LDSMS, 5 (Aug.1844),41-42; (Nov.1844),96.

90. Taylor, Expectations, pp.10,44; Chadwick, Victorian Church, I, 238; Lively, pp.11,193,274.

come to the West - the Beautiful West'. There were lengthy serialized⁹¹ descriptions of Oregon, California, and the Rocky Mountains.

The disposal of possessions in order to emigrate is perhaps analogous to the Millerites' selling up their possessions prior to the advent. Both were getting rid of goods in preparation for a new life.⁹² The Liverpool Mercury disapproved of Mormons giving up their goods.

The Mormons, conscious of an earthly destiny as well as a heavenly, laid more stress on social issues than did the Millerites. The poor Saints were to be relieved through the parish, not by wealthier members. Many would become Saints if they thought the church would care for their necessities. This is a contrast with some sects who feel that no aid⁹³ should be sought from unbelievers.

Marriage was urged as a positive duty, the neglect of which incurred a 'fearful responsibility'. Bachelors, even while themselves free of licentiousness, left unmarried females exposed to a thousand snares. Legal contracts of marriage entered into before baptism should be binding.⁹⁴ There were calls to temperance. Both Millerites and Mormons⁹⁵ gained some adherents from the Teetotallers. The Saints were also⁹⁶ warned against mesmerism. The Star carried some social comment, reviewing William Strange's Black Book of the English Aristocracy and⁹⁷ printing extracts from Hewitt's Journal. Support for the church was to be through tithes, technically a tenth of income, but many poor

91. LDSMS, 10 (1848), 40-42, 223, 359-60. A memorial was sent to the Queen for the relief, by emigration, of her poor subjects, ibid., 8 (Nov. 1846), 142; 7 (1846), 130-32, 145-48, 161-65, 171-82; 8 (1846), 2-5, 33-35, 49-52, 65-67, 81-84.

92. LDSMS, 11 (1849), 44-45.

93. LDSMS, 8 (Nov. 1846), 99.

94. LDSMS, 8 (Dec. 1846), 177; 4 (Feb. 1844), 144.

95. LDSMS, 1 (April 1840), 21; Billington, 'Revivalism', p. 272.

96. LDSMS, 9 (1847), 49-54.

97. LDSMS, 1 (Nov. 1840), 188-90.

members were exempted. The rich should be generous, and the poor should
 98
 emigrate.

The Mormons in Britain found themselves under literary attack, both on theological grounds and for the occasional scandal, and sometimes the
 99
 physical violence that was the general lot of field preachers. Opposition to the Mormons came from those who objected to field preachers, from objections to millenarian teaching, from dislike of the claim to extra-biblical revelation, and from distrust of the Mormons's financial dealing. A Moravian, an Independent, a Primitive Methodist, and a preacher of the Methodist New Connexion were among the opposers. The Campbellite Gospel Banner reported a debate at Louth between a Mormon and John Theobald, a Primitive Methodist, temperance advocate and anti-Mormon missionary under the title 'Overthrow of Infidel Mormonism'. Joseph Smith's 'miserable existence has terminated in a miserable death'. Sometimes renegade members attacked their former spiritual
 100
 home. Dan Jones, the leading evangelist in Wales, was petitioned against for blasphemy, infidelity, and saying that the end of the world was at hand, thereby scaring people out of their senses, taking people
 101
 to a foreign land and selling them as slaves.

The emigration scheme aroused suspicion. There were reportedly misery and poverty in the American settlement, and Mormons were 'a set
 102
 of imposters'. The 'terrestrial paradise' of Nauvoo was 'humbug'.

The London Dispatch accused the Saints of plundering dupes, the men of

98. LDSMS, 10 (1848),359-60; 11 (1849),6-7.

99. Lively, p.173.

100. LDSMS, 1(Feb.1841),256; 2(July 1841),34-37; Gospel Banner, (1851),118; CM, 9 (Sept.1844),49.

101. LDSMS, 9 (1847),299-300.

102. Liverpool Albion, 25 Nov.1844,p.8; Preston Chronicle and Liverpool Chronicle, reported in Leicester Chronicle, 7 Oct.1843,p.3; Macclesfield Courier, 24 Feb.1844,p.3; Sheffield Mercury and Hallamshire Advertiser, 28 Nov.1846,p.2.

Gloucester surpassing 'in ignorance and folly' the followers of Joanna, Irving, and Mad Tom. Impartially the same article attacked episcopal incomes of 9,000 pounds a year and clerical inactivity. Parley Pratt¹⁰³ was crudely reported as looking like the apostle of the beer barrel.

There were more reasoned attacks on Mormon belief, including works by clergy in Herefordshire, where the Mormons were particularly successful. A measure of persecution helps such a movement, demonstrating its truth by the opposition of the wrong people.¹⁰⁴

1844-48 were troubled years for the Mormons in Britain, with the church weakened by emigration, the death of Joseph Smith in June 1844, the split between the followers of James Strang and Brigham Young, Reuben Hedlock's unsuccessful Joint Stock Company for emigration, and the expulsion from Nauvoo.¹⁰⁵ A short period of rapid expansion, 1848-51, took the number of places of worship to 222, though some were merely rooms, and an evening attendance of over 16,000.¹⁰⁶ Then the movement was hit by the rumour, followed by the public announcement in the Star in January 1853 of polygamy. Circulation of the paper dropped from 23,000 to 7,000.¹⁰⁷ The movement had become too radical even for the group it hoped to attract. It was to take years of patient work before the cause revived in Britain. The Millerites had little that was new once their time prediction had failed: the Mormons had to live down a different type of shock.

103. LDSMS, 1 (Nov.1840),188-90.

104. Henry Caswall, The City of the Mormons, or Three Days at Nauvoo in 1842 (1842). This was reviewed together with J.B.Turner, Mormonism in all Ages; or the Rise, Progress and Course of Mormonism, with the Biography of its Author and Founder Joseph Smith (New York), and Smith, Book of Mormon (1830), and Times and Seasons (1841), in British Critic, 32 (1842),506-15; Lively, pp.196-204.

105. LDSMS, 7 (April 1846),123-27; 8 (Nov.1846),144.

106. Parliamentary Papers, LXXXIX, pp.cvi-cxii.

107. Lively, pp.205,222; Chadwick, Victorian Church, I, 439.

The five groups examined in this chapter, while each considering all others mistaken, had this in common, that they survived as organized bodies. All were restorationist, but none was tied to time predictions which could bring early disappointment. The Christadelphians were able to endure later schism and disconfirmation. The Catholic Apostolics, by their refusal to renew the hierarchy, condemned themselves to a slow demise. Movements that are to survive need a distinctive teaching which requires that they maintain a measure of separation from other groups, strong leadership, and a periodical. The next chapter will return to the Millerites, see how far they had the three requisites, and how these factors affected the movement.

CHAPTER X
THE DECLINE OF MILLERISM

1. The Age to Come

The main difference perceived by the Millerites between their views and those of the English 'Literalists' concerned the role of Israel. For the former, 'carnal Israel' no longer had a special place in salvation history. As Millerism fragmented after 1844, it was not surprising that questions on Israel were raised by some Adventists. The view that literal Israel would inherit the Old Testament promises became known as the Age to Come theory. Its roots are complex and intertwined. The views of Henry Grew, mediated through George Storrs, may have prepared British Millerites.¹ The Age to Come Adventists wondered why the Herald party were so strong against them, but lauded very highly the² Literalists of England, such as Bickersteth.

John Thomas, barred from the Campbellite Christian Messenger, found a hearing in the Gospel Banner. The British Millennial Harbinger opposed Thomas's visit in 1848, and this was noticed by David Widdowson, secretary of the Advent brethren. It is significant that Widdowson was at that time reading Campbellite literature, though not surprising in view of the history of the Nottingham Millerites. Widdowson invited Thomas to preach at the Adventists's New Radford chapel on 30 July and to stay at his house while at Nottingham. An application for Thomas to preach at the Campbellite Barkergate chapel had been refused. Widdowson had notified the Adventists in Derby, Birmingham, and possibly Plymouth

1. Storrs tentatively suggested a special role for Palestine, MCN, 17 Aug.1844,p.58. Age to Come papers reprinted articles from English Literalists, AHBA, 6 Mar.1852,p.30, through to 24 April 1852.
2. AHBA, 10 May 1851,p.372; Expositor and Advocate, 15 July 1855,p.101.

of Thomas's visit so that they could make openings for him. Thomas's visit to Nottingham was certainly a factor in the decline of the New Radford Millerites.

More effect was created at Plymouth. Edward Byne, a former Millerite, drew the attention of John Dingle, 'the visionary of Modbury', to the Age to Come and invited him to attend lectures by Thomas. Burgess, Micklewood, and Dingle attended lectures by John Wilson, author of Our Israelitish Origin. It is not clear if Dingle had influenced the other men. According to Dingle, Micklewood was advocating the Age to Come as early as 1847. This does not, however, appear in Micklewood's tract of that year on the Revelation. Micklewood indicated to Himes in March 1847 that he and Himes 'may differ in some features of the Advent cause...but are agreed in the main and substantial features of the faith'. The differences were not specified. Burgess thought that Wilson's lectures had given additional light to prophecy, and invited him to speak in the Advent Chapel in Plymouth in 1848 and 1849. As late as 1847 he had classified the restoration of the Jews with other false teachings such as the conversion of the world and the spiritual coming of Christ.

4

Dingle learnt that Deatry, by this time in America, 'had found

3. Roberts, Thomas, pp.158-60. Widdowson wrote 17, 24, and 25 July; Gospel Banner, 1 (1848), 170-78; Roberts believed that the Millerites in Nottingham introduced Thomas to Derby, Birmingham, and Plymouth, while the Campbellites took him by the hand in Lincoln and Newark, Thomas, p.163. The sermon at New Radford attracted more than could be admitted, Gospel Banner, 1 (1848), 253.
4. AH, 1 May 1847, p.101; John Dingle, Farmer, Great Orchardton; William White, History Gazetteer and Directory of Devonshire (Sheffield, 1850), p.547; Key to the Chronological Arrangement. Micklewood's theme may not have lent itself to Age to Come treatment, but he could have introduced it had he been determined, Burgess, Modern Phenomena...Signs of the Times, p.47. A Christadelphian ecclesia in Plymouth dated from Thomas's visit in 1848, Ambassador, 5 (1868), 143.

Miller's views in many points wrong'. Dealtry had met John Wilson, who had presented him with a copy of Our Israelitish Origin. Although at first Dealtry did not think much of the book, he later greatly appreciated it, and preached in New York 'in strict harmony with our [Dingle and his friends'] views'. Brother Paul of London had twice been invited to address the Plymouth Adventists, and this seemed proof to Dingle that he must hold the Age to Come views. Dingle did not know a minister in England who now advocated the views of Miller. When Dingle first came into the Advent faith in 1848, the brethren presented him with the Herald and the writings of William Miller, but he could not harmonize the Scripture with their views. 'I found a space not filled up, nor can it be except we admit the Age to Come'. To this view, he believed, the
5
brethren in Plymouth were now converted.

Confirmation of Burgess's change of view is that in 1851 he was
6
looking for the restoration of literal Jerusalem. However, Micklewood was still working with Bonham, who seems to have adhered to the Herald party after his return to America. The fact that Burgess and Micklewood were in touch with Joseph Marsh's Voice of Truth in 1845 may be an
7
indication, or a cause of later views. In America the Age to Come Adventists became loosely organized as a separate party under the leadership of Marsh. They seem to have been affiliated with a group of British Adventists whose relationship to Millerism is unclear. Marsh made the first clear statement among Adventists of the Age to Come in
8
January 1850. Jonathan Wilson, one of Marsh's associates, had been

5. AHBA, 15 Jan.1851,p.373. The Age to Come views were summarized in 29 articles, of which only Nos 16-25 differed essentially from Miller's ideas; Dingle was baptized by Burgess, Plymouth DWJ, 26 Oct.1848,p.3; AHBA, 5 April 1851, pp.332-33.
6. Farewell Discourses, pp.33-34.
7. VTGT, 3 Dec.1845,p.545; 29 April 1846,p.32.
8. AHBA, 5 Jan.1850,p.228.

led to his views by reading John Wilson's Our Israelitish Origin, and is also credited with first preaching the Age to Come.⁹

There was some link between the followers of George Dowie, the leader of the most troublesome of early Christadelphian schisms, and Scott, Campbell, Marsh, Storrs, and Cook. The association with Scott and Campbell was probably only that of similar ideas, but it would appear that the works of Cook, Marsh, and Storrs may have been circulating among the Edinburgh ecclesia. There is other evidence that Marsh's Expositor & Advocate was circulating in Scotland. Thomas, seldom lacking sharp phrases, dismissed the trio.¹⁰

2. The Remnant

1848 was the turning point for the Millerites in Britain. The doctrinal stance of those groups which survived as Adventist congregations cannot be clearly discerned, although there are some clues. Himes wrote in July of a 'good number of faithful brethren and sisters'. It seemed doubtful if he would ever revisit them. In 1850 Robertson reported 'many zealous and faithful brethren' in England, but gave no figures.¹¹ Of the evangelists, only Bonham, Burgess, and Micklewood continued to correspond with the Herald. Burgess may not have been in sympathy with the Albany group. Micklewood's last published letter to the Herald was in 1852 and there is no further key to his doctrinal development until 1862. Bonham's complaint of a shortage of workers was an understatement.¹²

Robertson continued as agent for the Herald until at least 1865 and

9. AHBA, 22 June 1850, p.7; 21 Sept., p.14.

10. Herald of the Kingdom, 10 (1860), 261; 11 (1861), 213-16; J. Laing, in Expositor and Advocate, 1 Jan. 1856, pp. 414-15.

11. AH, 8 July 1848, p.184; 28 Sept., 1850, p.279.

12. AH, 13 Mar. 1852, p.86; 4 May 1850, p.110.

corresponded until 1876, aged 82, although not committed solely to its views, as is shown by his being an agent for Thomas's Herald of the Kingdom by 1860. He also corresponded with Himes's Voice of the Prophets. In 1860 Thorp in Leeds was reading both the Herald and the Voice of the Prophets, 'a timely and important sheet...in no way a rival' to the Herald. The American Millennial Association was founded in 1858 by what Arthur calls 'the central group of Adventists'. Himes sold the Herald to the Association, while retaining a place on the paper's Committee on Publications. In 1860 he began the Voice of the Prophets,¹³ convinced Christ would come in 1867-68.

Bonham returned to Britain in November 1849 for what was the last known Millerite preaching tour for eleven years. He visited Neston, Parkgate, and Bromborough in the Wirral, Leeds, Selby, Wakefield, and Wortley. The believers were active. In London he held no meetings, but visited Robertson in Reigate. At Brighton his health gave way, and the doctor ordered him to stop preaching or die. He was still able to write, and in April 1851 visited Ludlow, where there were some believers, including the Tanner family. He left Britain for New York in May 1851.¹⁴

About 1850 he published An Address to the Churches which was a slightly abridged form of the address of 26 May 1846, prepared by the General Conference at Boston preparatory to Himes's mission. This re-issue testifies to Bonham's adherence to post-Albany Herald orthodoxy,

13. Herald of the Kingdom, 10 (1860), 88-92; Arthur, 'Himes', p.164; World's Crisis, 14 May 1862, p.34; AH, 11 Aug.1860, p.254-55; 23 Mar.1861, p.91; 24 Jan.1877, p.14.
14. AH, 29 Dec.1849, p.175; 26 Jan.1850, p.206; 9 Mar., p.47; 20 April, p.94; 25 May, p.133; 24 Aug., p.238; 26 Oct., p.310; 28 Dec., p.382; 11 Jan.1851, pp.398-99; 18 Jan., p.406; 24 May, p.119; 11 July, p.174.

though his views may have become increasingly ecumenical.

The Religious Census of 1851 provides a convenient datum point for examining what was left of Millerism in Britain. The Birmingham meeting had apparently broken up. Two of its former members had joined the Christadelphians by 1860. The Brighton group, of unknown size, had disappeared, three members going over to the Campbellites.¹⁶ The Bristol returns are missing, but in 1848 the Mormons were meeting on Castle Green, probably in the last known home of the Millerites.¹⁷ The Derby believers, who had depended on Nottingham for preachers, were not recorded.¹⁸ Christadelphian influence had come in. East Anglia - Norwich, King's Lynn, and Dereham - had no meeting recognizable as Adventist.¹⁹ At Exeter there was a Second Advent meeting in St. Kerrian parish, but no numbers are known.²⁰ There was nothing that could be identified as an Adventist chapel at Knottingley.²¹

In 1849 Thorp wrote as secretary of the 'Christians looking for the speedy appearing of our Lord, residing in the neighbourhood of Leeds', regretting that Himes was already one hundred and fifty dollars in debt

15. Chapter VIII, n.13.

16. Public Record Office, Home Office, Census of Religious Worship 1851, 129/85. At least three forms appear in grouping of entries: some are paginated, some grouped by sections, others have no further clear reference than the district number; Ambassador, 3 (1866),99; Bible Advocate, 1 (1848),119. In 1850 there were six Disciples in Brighton, Brit.Mill.Harb., 3 (1850),282; Roberts, Thomas, p.163; for a believer in Brighton in 1850, D.S.Porter, 'A Century of Adventism in the British Isles', Messenger, Centennial Historical Special (Grantham, 1974), pp.4-5.

17. PRO.HO 129/329; AH, 3 July 1847,p.175; LDSMS, 10 (1848),22.

18. PRO.HO 129/445; Roberts, Thomas, p.163.

19. The Church of Christ in Norwich that had held no meetings since 1850 seems the only possible (and unlikely) identification with the Millerites, PRO.HO 129/234, 5-4-8.

20. PRO.HO 129/282. The return for the chapel was lost. Bonham lectured at The Advent Church, St. Olaves's Square, Fore street, in December 1847. No Second Advent chapel was listed for Exeter in White, Directory of Devonshire (1850),p.89.

21. PRO.HO 129/504a.

for the English mission and resolving to raise funds to assist in paying²² for the Herald. Some indication of the strength of the Leeds organization is given by the instruction that all subscribers to the Herald,²³ except those in Leeds, should communicate with the London agent. In March 1850 Bonham was back in Leeds, where he met some who had seen the truths during his eighteen lectures in 1848. He and Micklewood preached in the Old Baptist Chapel, St. Peter's Street, in June for a one-month series.²⁴ The Leeds group supplied six names, one third of the total, to a letter in 1850 regretting the attempt to wrest control of the Herald from Himes, and pledging to increase its circulation in England.²⁵ Matthew Habershon was among the other signatories.

By 1850 the Leeds believers had secured the school room in Merrion Street, more convenient than their former room in Middleton in the home of Thorp's father.²⁶ Neither room having a baptistery, eleven Adventists joined eight Baptists in immersion by Jabez Tunnickliff of Hunslet Baptist Chapel. The Adventists spent the afternoon in their former room at Middleton a mile distant, returning to Hunslet to hear a rousing sermon on the second advent from Tunnickliff. The preacher may have received his first impulse to millenarianism in 1830 from reading J.N. Darby, though Bonham believed he became interested about 1847.²⁷

Tunnickliff, who had signified his support for Himes and the Herald, resigned his charge and accepted an invitation to supply at Call Lane Chapel. The congregation increased about fifty-fold while he was there.

22. AH, 17 April 1849, p.24.

23. AH, 10 Mar. 1849, p.48; 26 May, p.132.

24. AH, 25 May 1850, p.133; 24 Aug., p.238; 26 Oct., p.310.

25. J. Tunnickliff, C.A. Thorp, John Turton, Henry Hepworth, John Mann, Robert Cookson, AH, 28 Sept. 1850, p.279; James Catley of Garforth, whose letter appeared in AH, 27 Nov. 1847, p.135, was not a signatory.

26. AH, 25 May 1850, p.133; 24 Aug., p.238.

27. Thorp reported the substance of the sermon to the Herald, AH, 9 Mar. 1850, p.46; Marles, Life, p.58; AH, 25 May 1850, p.133.

He appears to have been joined by about forty of his old General Baptist friends, unsettled by the conduct of his successor at Byron Street and 'a number of Advent Christians, who entertained the same views as myself as to the speedy appearance of Christ'. Both these groups urged him to continue at Call Lane. He was elected in July 1850 and by the end of August, of the two hundred and fifty worshippers, only four or five of²⁸ the old Arian group remained.

The merging of Baptists and Adventists was confirmed by Bonham in a²⁹ letter to the Herald. At the meeting of the seat holders of Call Lane, John Mann, a signatory to the joint letter to Himes, was in the chair. Thorp was elected secretary in August 1852, and continued in³⁰ this office or that of deacon or treasurer until 1860. He resumed³¹ writing to the Herald in 1860. Hutchinson visited Leeds in 1862 meeting Mann, Thorp (his host), and Tunnicliff, who invited him to³² preach. The Adventists were then meeting in a hired hall. Thorp's letter to the Herald in 1864 urged Litch, the editor, to keep up the paper and sympathized with America in the 'rebellion'. He also referred³³ to the Prusso-Danish War. Later letters were concerned with Johan³⁴ Geherd Oncker's mission in Germany.

Adventists and Baptists had continued at Call Lane, but at least

28. Marles, Life, pp.5,59,60,63,221,222,225. Tunnicliff was born 1801, the son of a Wolverhampton boot and shoemaker. He was an Independent, a Calvinistic and then a General Baptist; on Call Lane Chapel, R.J.Owen, 'General Baptist Beginnings in Leeds, 1840-1850', Baptist Quarterly NS, 23 (1969-70),302-05; PRO.HO 129/501,p.8; AH, 23 June 1863,p.183.
29. AH, 26 Oct.1850,p.310.
30. Call Lane Chapel minutes, 1851,p.1; Mann was secretary for 1851-52, and William Askey sub treasurer, ibid.,p.9. It is remotely possible that Askey was related to his namesake of Liverpool, AH, 11 July 1854,p.174.
31. AH, 11 Aug.1860,pp.254-55.
32. AH, 28 Oct.1862,p.339.
33. AH, 19 July 1864,p.113.
34. AH, 26 July 1864,p.117; 2 Aug.,p.121.

some Adventists appear to have maintained a separate existence. The Religious Census recorded a Second Advent Preaching Room with average attendances of fourteen, eighty, and forty for morning, afternoon, and evening. Joseph Hough, possibly the minister, completed the return.³⁵ His name has not been traced in the Herald, or other Adventist papers. In 1862 Hutchinson attended Call Lane in the morning and Adventists in the afternoon. Next year he met the Adventists in the morning and preached at Call Lane afterwards.³⁶

In February 1850 Bonham preached again in the Advent Chapel in Prince William Street, Liverpool. There had been several conversions in his absence. Five men signed the letter supporting Himes in 1850. The group was not recorded in 1851, suggesting the fewness of Bonham's 'few devoted brethren', since meetings of as few as ten persons were listed. Curry continued to lead a congregation until at least 1863. The brethren associated with him were all in secular employment, so could not build up the cause as effectively as full time evangelists. In the Wirral, Bonham had as many as fifty-five adherents at communion in Neston, but they had no place of their own and attended Independent chapels.³⁷ In London at least one of the members joined the Campbellites in 1848 on the demise of the Millerite congregation. Bonham found no meeting and no pulpit in 1851.³⁸ In Ludlow nineteen believers had been baptized in 1848 and a small meeting continued in 1851. The census shows no group that can be identified as Millerite.³⁹ The Denman Street, New Radford, chapel of the Nottingham believers seems to have become the 'New Testa-

35. PRO.HO.129/501 3 1-14, p.45.

36. AH, 28 Oct.1862,p.339; 23 June 1863,p.183.

37. AH, 20 April,1850,p.94, Wirral group; 28 Sept.,p.279; 11 July 1851, p.174; 7 April 1863,p.89.

38. Bible Advocate, 1(1848),64; AH, 11 July 1851,p.174.

39. AH, 11 July 1851,p.174.

ment Disciples Chapel' by 1848. By 1851 it had passed to the Mormons.
⁴⁰
 New beliefs had scattered the Adventists.

At Plymouth in 1851 the Second Advent chapel in Wyndham Street, a new, detached building registered by Burgess, was occupied by congregations of between three and four hundred of the Church of Second Advent Believers. Burgess was pastor, although Micklewood had been listed as Reverend in 1850. The census stated that a good schoolmaster could easily build up the Sunday school, now down to sixty scholars. Burgess left Plymouth in 1851, and the Second Advent chapel does not appear in directories after that date. Micklewood may have taken the congregation
⁴¹
 to his own premises.

In Tiverton the New Jerusalem church founded in 1846 with up to fifty attending, or the Independent church founded in 1847 and 1849,
⁴²
 appear to be the only likely heirs of the Millerites. Even by April 1847 there was 'desolation' at Truro. Internal dissension finally dissolved the group before the chapel in St Dominic Street was com-
⁴³
 pleted. Several members joined the Mormons around 1853.

After Winter left Piltdown, Uckfield, Henry Farley (or Varley)

40. PRO.HO. 129/439 2-2-5. There were four chapels in New Radford in 1832: Wesleyan, Kilhamite, Independent, and Primitive Methodist. In 1844 a Second Advent congregation occupied the Independent chapel. The same entry is given for 1853, but this is probably a carry-over without verification. William White, History, Gazetteer and Directory of Nottingham (Sheffield, 1832), p.584; ibid., (1844), p.516; ibid., (1853), p.288; Thomas Marriott was elder of the Mormons. Was he related to the Campbellite, William Marriott of Barkergate chapel, Nottingham? Roberts, Thomas, p.152.
41. PRO.HO 129/287 2-1-8; Second Advent Chapel, back of Eldad, White, Directory of Devonshire (1850), pp.658, 665, 668. Micklewood's property was a meeting house in 1881, but there is no sign of where the Second Advent group, if it survived, met after 1850; C.Edwin Welsh, 'Dissenters' Meeting Houses in Plymouth to 1852', Transactions of the Devonshire Association, 94(1962), 579-612 (p.589).
42. PRO.HO. 129/293, p.52.
43. EAH, 1 April 1847, p.63; AH 1 May 1847, p.101; see Chapter VII, n.25.

44

served as pastor. In 1850 the Campbellite Daniel King arrived at Piltdown's invitation, 'and after several weeks of helpful and testing intercourse', the congregation of 150 'began to carry in to effect the apostolic plan of Church Government as taught in the New Testament Scriptures'.⁴⁵ In 1851 the 'Advent Tabernacle of those Believing in the Second Advent or Speedy Coming of the Lord' had average attendances of⁴⁶ 400.

In 1852 Farley reported to Himes three meetings each Sunday, in the morning for the breaking of bread, and in the afternoon and evening for the gospel proclamation. The 204 baptized believers had increased to 366, but the church had been 'through much tribulation...at times well-nigh wrecked'. Some of the original members had apostatized, moved from the area, or died. They had suffered much from a paid ministry and therefore had quite abolished that system. Was this one of King's reforms? The Lord had raised up from their number those who could 'teach and exhort', three pastors and seven deacons, with three evangelists in the field. Contributions from the believers were sufficient for the chapel rent and relief of poor members. Seats were not let and money was not accepted from non-Christians. The absence of a paid ministry, no seat rents, and no money from unbelievers were Campbellite⁴⁷ teaching, but not exclusively so.

Was Piltdown then a Campbellite or Millerite group? Farley, who

44. Mount House Chapel, n.p.

45. David King, Memoirs of David King (Birmingham, 1898), pp. 8-9. Notes on King's visit and the re-organization were in an old Minute Book, now apparently lost, Mount House Chapel, np.

46. J. Comley Page, 'Letter from England', in World's Crisis, 4 Mar. 1903, pp. 4-5, treats the chapel as an Adventist cause throughout its history; Ecclesiastical Observer, 3 (1873), 312. The last reference traced is in Christian Advocate, 23 (1940), 368; PRO.HO 129/81 51-4-1.

47. AH, 26 June 1852, p. 206.

had met Himes in 1846, also wrote of progress to the British Millennial Harbinger, which recorded the Piltdown membership from 1850 onwards.⁴⁸ Perhaps the members would not have understood a denominational label.

A third influence worked on Piltdown, that of Thomas. He visited there in 1848 and wrote to what he called 'a body of Millerites in Sussex'. He listed a set of beliefs which sound like traditional post-Albany Millerism, including the non-fulfilment of promises to literal Israel. This is evidence that Piltdown had not gone over to the Age to Come view.⁴⁹ We may have in Piltdown a group with Millerite doctrines and Campbellite gospel order. Although Thomas did not publish any reply from the Millerites, some of his ideas may have taken root, as the congregation divided over the issue of conditional immortality, and a new chapel was built in 1863-64 for the conditionalists with Farley as elder.⁵⁰ The conditionalist ideas may also have come from the Second Advent Christians, or from the unknown source of 'Adventist's' strong conditionalism. Suggestion of schisms comes from the fact that by 1873⁵¹ the Campbellites numbered only 69. To add to the confusion, Edward Hart, a founder member who was stated to have left money for the chapel, actually willed three hundred pounds to the Baptist chapel or associated schools. His widow left money to the rector for the repair of her

48. AH, 26 June 1852, p.206; Brit.Mill.Harb. 3(1850),282; 5(1852), 46,96; 6(1853),450, 7(1854),420; 8(1855),453; Farley's reports were published in 6(1853),142,334. The membership was reckoned as 225 in 1846 and fluctuated around that figure. Gospel Banner,3(1850),193, gives 200.

49. Herald of the Kingdom, 11(1861),179.

50. Johnson, Advent Christian History, p.551. The 1878 OS 6" map shows an Advent Chapel (Baptist) with a Baptist Chapel (General) a mile southwest. The latter is identified as the Mount House Chapel on the 1932 OS 6" map and the Advent Chapel is no longer extant.

51. Ecclesiastical Observer, 3(1873),312; David King re-visited Piltdown and found 'a good number of old faces' from 24 years back, ibid., p.214.

husband's vault.

Bonham wrote of England that the

best of causes has been trampled under foot and ruined by the fanaticism and misconduct of reckless men...In certain places gatherings of brethren and sisters have been broken up, and with but few exceptions, churches, as far as they were identified with us, have to a certain extent become extinct, through the promulgation of strange doctrines, and the inconsistent conduct of their advocates.

Many in England were premillennialists and gave Bonham a candid hearing. An American article on 'Modern Millenarianism' believed there were⁵³ comparatively few Millerites or Second Adventists in Britain in 1853.

The last survey of Millerite Adventists in Britain was the visit by Hutchinson, now M.D., beginning in August 1862. He had introduced his paper Millennial News to passengers, and at Liverpool preached for Curry to a crowded congregation. He met the Adventists at Leeds, but significantly only Robertson in London. There were still traces of his work in Scotland, though some had moved to Morpeth, or emigrated further. Two sisters in Kilmarnock were receiving the Herald. It did not seem to trouble Hutchinson that James Noble's congregation had joined the Catholic Apostolic Church, and he spoke at the evening service on the dark present as a sign of the speedy coming. The Catholic Apostolics, whose service he attended in Liverpool, were, in his opinion, orthodox. They made prominent the premillennial and speedy Advent, seemed to be waiting and expecting, proving faith by works in donating much of their property to the church, and showed a catholic spirit. Hutchinson did not mention other Millerite congregations, but this could be because he did not

52. Somerset House Wills, 1865, 1868.

53. AH, 10 July 1852, p.223; 21 Aug., p.271. The Herald listed Adventist beliefs and some of the current deviations, 17 April 1852, pp.121-22; 24 April, pp.129-30; 1 May, pp.137-38; Biblical Repository and Princeton Review (Philadelphia, PA), 25(1853), 66-83 (p.67).

travel south.

In 1854, Francis V. Woodhouse, an apostle of the Catholic Apostolic Church, mentioned the Brethren and Mormons, but not the Adventists, suggesting the last-named were not known as significant rivals. Robertson noted in 1862 that the number of subscribers to the Herald was not increasing.⁵⁵

Despite the frail health which continued to trouble him on his return to America, Bonham continued to correspond with the Herald. By 1874, following Himes, he was an Episcopalian, Head of the House of Evangelists in New York. That year he attended a 'Ten Days' Mission in London and wrote of the Church of England as a 'branch of Christ's Holy Apostolic Church...doctrines...evangelical, creed...comprehensive,... liturgy...scriptural, ...polity...primitive'.⁵⁶

Dealtry appears to have left England after his defection from Millerism. He appears later as a Christadelphian, actively evangelizing, but then becoming involved in a Christological dispute with Thomas. He speculated on the nature of biblical inspiration. After Dowie, Dealtry's schismatic tendencies were perhaps the most serious of Christadelphian troubles. The end of the story is not known, but

54. It is not clear when Hutchinson obtained his MD, AH, 2 Feb. 1864, p.17. He visited Liverpool, Garsdale, Ingleton, Leeds, London, Brockham Green, Surrey, met Dr Cummings, Leeds, Bradford, Garsdale, Darlington, Newcastle, Coldstream, Flodden Field, Kelso, Hawick, Edinburgh, Kilmarnock, Carlisle, Liverpool, Halifax, Leeds, London, Paris, London, Garsdale, Morpeth, Liverpool, 6 Sept. 1862, p.283; 27 Sept., p.306-07; 21 Oct., pp.330-31; 28 Oct., pp.339-40; 25 Nov., pp.371-72; 16 Dec., pp.395-96; 23 Dec., p.403; 20 Jan. 1863, pp.19-20 (a former reader of Voice of Elijah); 27 Jan., pp.27-28; 24 Feb., pp.49-50; 24 Mar., p.73; 31 Mar., pp.81-82; 7 April, p.89; 14 April, p.97; 28 April, p.113; 23 June, p.183; 28 July, p.217; 4 Aug., p.225; 15 Sept., p.273.

55. Quoted in Lively, p.117; AH, 1 Mar. 1862, p.67.

56. J.W. Bonham, The Great Revival in the Church of England (New York, 1875), p.1.

Dealtry may have been on the way to scepticism.

Micklewood, listed as a minister in 1850, was in subsequent directories called stationer, or wholesale stationer. The acquisition of property suggests that the business flourished. In 1862 he wrote The Gospel of the Kingdom of God. He still argued for the personal coming of Christ and the resurrection of the body, but cited no dates or time prophecies. In the subjoined letter to Mr Pugh, Micklewood complained that Pugh was not preaching the kingdom of God. The other element of the gospel, as Micklewood saw it, was the name of Jesus the King. Nor was Pugh preaching water baptism, namely believer's baptism. The washing of water and the renewing of the Holy Ghost are two separate things. In 1909 The Millennium and Seventh-day Adventism was published posthumously, showing that Micklewood retained an interest in millenarianism until the end of his days.

58

3. A British Adventist Group in America

A group of about ten Baptist families in Halifax came to disagree with their church on baptismal regeneration, the Trinity, the immortality of the soul, and the place of the Jews in prophecy and history. These families emigrated in the 1840s and originally settled in mid-Atlantic states centering in Philadelphia. Their views on the millennial reign were similar to those of Marsh and Storrs. The Millerites

57. Ambassador, 4(1867),286-87,304-12; 5(1868),36,44-52,320-21.

58. Rev.E.Micklewood: White, Directory of Devonshire (1850),p.668, newsagent,stationer; M.Billing's Directory and Gazetteer of Plymouth, Stonehouse and Devonport (Birmingham,1857),pp.40,696; The Three Towns' Directory for Plymouth, Devonport and Stonehouse (Plymouth,1873), n.p., Micklewood (late Watts & Co) wholesale stationers; ibid.(1877),pp.14-33,106; Eyre Brothers' Post Office Plymouth District Directory (1882),pp.140,335,383,610,673. In 1882, 6 Kinterbury Street was part of Micklewood's stationery business, and also appears to have been a mission room in Directories for 1881,1882, and 1885,p.24.

had rejected those views at the General Conference of 1840, and had no close connection with the English brethren after that. By 1844 the ten families had settled in Geneva, Illinois, and spread out from there. In 1845 or 1846 Benjamin Wilson began his inter-linear translation of the New Testament known as the Emphatic Diaglott, completed in 1864 at a cost of two to three thousand dollars. Charles Taze Russell, founder of what were later to be called the Jehovah's Witnesses, bought the plates of the 1872 edition in 1901 or 1902, and re-issued the work in 1903 with few changes. About 1845 or 1846 Wilson began to publish the Gospel
59
Banner and Millennial Advocate at Geneva.

Jonathan Wilson, on a six-month tour in Pennsylvania and Ohio, two hundred miles from home, wanted to spend his eightieth year in spreading the truth. He had no means, and needed tracts on the Bible doctrine of the state of the dead, the destination of the wicked, the Age to Come or Christ's reign on the earth. Thomas and James Wilson are also known by name. The former is possibly the Thomas who appeared briefly as a Millerite missionary in England. It would seem that the Age to Come position in Illinois was supported and maintained by those who had their origins in English Adventism rather than American. Benjamin Wilson's

59. Arthur, 'Come out', pp.336-37 states that the emigration was in the late 1840s and that English Adventists moved west in the 1850s; Moses Crouse, curator Jenks Memorial Collection of Adventual Materials, Aurora College, Illinois, in a letter to the writer, 1 April 1981, believes that the ten families had reached Geneva by 1846 and this conclusion is substantiated by the appearance of the Gospel Banner in Geneva, IL in 1845 or 1846; Orville Westlund suggests the Banner began in 1850, 'A History of the Indiana Church of God of the Faith of Abraham' (term paper, Aurora College, IL., 1952), p.2, citing Restitution Herald (Oregon, IL.), 10 Mar. 1942, p.5. The Gospel Banner referred to above had nothing to do with the Campbellite paper published in Nottingham. No issues of the paper are known. Wilson also published a hymnal, The Sacred Melodist, and sent a copy to Thomas, who had earlier received Marsh's Milliennial Harp, Herald of the Kingdom, 10(1860), 168; on Marsh in Northern Illinois, ibid., p.201; on the projected New Testament, Expositor and Advocate, 15 Oct. 1855, pp.271-72; Arthur, 'Come out', p.366.

press was the focus of the group.

Thomas published an attack on the 'certain few at Geneva...styling themselves the Church' for disfellowshipping a sister and proclaiming the matter in their Gospel Banner. The Geneva group apparently split between the Wilson family who decreed the expulsion and others who
61
protested. The Church of God General Conference, or the Church of God of the Abrahamic faith, traces its origin to Marsh, the Wilson family,
62
and others.

4. Reasons for Decline

A variety of reasons may be assigned for the decline of Millerism in Britain. First, there was the lack of a central organization. Wilson, in his study of British Israelism, has noted the reluctance of some
63
religious groupings to set up any organizational mechanism. In the case of the Adventists, there was the anti-organizational climate typified by the Plymouth Brethren, and this was reinforced by the urgency to carry out a work of warning in a very short time, so that church polity

60. Expositor and Advocate, 1 Nov.1855,pp.302-03; 12 Dec.1855,p.387; 1 Mar.1856,p.525; MC, 28 Nov.1844,p.170; AH, 5 June 1844,p.142; SAH, 30 April 1844,p.55.

61. The three signatories to the notice of disfellowship were Henry B.Pierre, a nephew of Benjamin Wilson, editor of the Gospel Banner, and Thomas Wilson. Dr Thomas recounted ludicrous tales about all three, Herald of the Kingdom, 10(1860),281-82.

62. Your Introduction to the Church of God (Church of God General Conference, Box 100, Oregon, IL, 61061, nd),p.2; Orville Westlund, 'History of the Indiana church', p.2; Richard C.Nickells, 'The Adventist Movement. Its Relationship to the Seventh Day Church of God' (typewritten and xeroxed, Vancouver, WA),pp.19-24. Nickells's account generally agrees with Arthur's, which was earlier.

63. 'A sect with very strong millennial expectations will be reluctant to build up elaborate organisation or purchase property', Wilson, 'British Israelism',iv,60-61. This has not proved true of the Seventh-day Adventists with organization and institutions, of the tightly knit structure of the Jehovah's Witnesses and both the organization and property of Armstrong's World Wide Church of God. On the decline of Millerism in Britain, Johnson, Advent Christian History, p.551.

would soon be irrelevant. In the absence of formal organization, there were no leaders who were able to dominate the movement. This lack of leadership is reflected in the request for American men as well as means. The parent movement had no reserve energies for Britain before October, 1844, and was never the same again after it.

Brown, Himes, and Hutchinson were not able to do much more than confirm existing believers, and win more members to existing congregations. The Mormon experience showed what could be done by a powerful missionary team, even though the funding from America appears to have been minimal, except assistance with emigration. The solidly Bible-based Millerite interpretation of events left no place for a charismatic leader whose influence would be felt from beyond the grave. The Christadelphians, disappointed in 1866-68, were held together by Robert Roberts. In times of threatened disintegration, a movement needs a key figure with free access to or control of a periodical, unless the group⁶⁴ is small enough to be personally supervised by the leader.

Another factor in the decline of Millerism may have been emigration. Certainly most of the British missionaries who had come from America returned there. John Cochran(e) of Barrhead and Glasgow, who had become an Adventist in Canada in 1843, and came to Britain about 1845, considered returning to North America, although he was still in Scotland in 1862. Emigration and death had scattered the Hawick congregation, though by 1862 some of the diaspora appeared to be loyal to the⁶⁵ faith.

The disappointment of immediate hopes, the serious disruption in

64. William Solomon, an ex-Adventist, was already a believer in baptism by immersion, but the Mormons had the authority, Wilson, 'Social Aspects', p.1179.

65. AH, 27 Nov.1845,p.135; 27 Jan.1863,p.27; EAH, 1 Sept.1846,p.22.

thought patterns such as deep involvement with Millerism might effect, and the expectation of a larger Millerite fellowship in America, could have led to a desire to emigrate. There was a connection between sectarian religion and emigration in nineteenth century Sweden, but this was in part due to the unsympathetic attitude of the state church and
66
government.

Millerism may have failed to provide social cohesiveness, falling short of its members' expectations. Gilbert noted that members drifted away from chapels which were not felt to give social support. Lively argues that a 'group organised for specific and readily determined ends can expect only partial allegiance'. Henry Watson of Jedburgh, who had been agent for the European Herald in 1846, 'fought a fifteen year battle with the world, the church, and the devil'. After labouring as evangelist he became pastor of a Baptist church. They objected to his preaching on the second advent, so he went back to his trade of saddlery. He was still in touch with the Herald in 1862. His story illustrates the weariness of waiting a long time in comparative isolation.
67

After the disappointment of 1847, the British Millerites had no dates to cling to, unless they followed some minority American papers and looked to 1851 or 1854. The 1847 discomfiture seems to have been the breaking point for many, though this cannot be quantified. Post-Albany Millerism repeatedly emphasized that time was not the main difference between them and their opponents, but for practical purposes it

66. AH, 20 Jan.1863,p.19; compare Brit.Mill.Harb., 4 (1851),190-91, 373; Lindén, Biblicism, p.169; Christian Advocate, 2 (1858),159.

67. Gilbert, 'Growth and Decline', p.205; Lively, pp.284,287; EAH, 23 Dec.1846,p.48; AH, 16 Dec.1862,p.396.

was what made them a separate movement, as their opponents recognized.

It was that element that attracted the notice of journalists and critics. Without definite time it was difficult to keep up the same urgency, and to justify a separate church existence from those in other bodies who looked for the premillennial advent. However important the non-return of the Jews, it did not make a very exciting doctrine. The American experience showed that the post-Albany Evangelical Adventists, who sought denominational status, and played down their difference with other bodies, eventually died out. Even Himes deserted the movement and joined the Advent Christian Church with its distinctive teaching.

Disconfirmation of the expected event was clearly a very significant factor in defection from Adventism. Routon felt that many accepted the preaching under fear, and when fears proved groundless, abandoned the belief. Thorp noticed this in Leeds three years later. The British Harbinger questioned why, if the doctrine were true , so many fell away after accepting it. The answer was lack of faith.⁶⁹

There may be at least two motivations in joining a millenarian movement. Where fear alone drives, apostasy will quickly follow removal of the fright. For others, millenarianism is an outlook on life, not to be shaken by the failure of predictions. It appears that limited disappointments may result in clarification (rationalization?) of the teaching with increased fervour and proselytizing activity.⁷⁰ This has

68. AH, 15 Mar.1851,p.37.

69. SAH, 30 April 1844,p.54; AHMA, 28 Aug.1844,p.11; MC, 22 Aug.1844,p.54; AH, 27 Nov.1847,p.135.

70. Jonathan Butler, 'When Prophecy Fails: The Validity of Apocalypticism', Spectrum, 8, no.1 (1976),7-14 (pp.7-8). Butler cites Leon Festinger, Harry W.Riecken and Stanley Schacter, When Prophecy Fails (Minneapolis, MA,1956). Millenarianism as a mind set is observable in the fact that persons disappointed in one group drifted to another. Daniel Trickey, an American Millerite, became a Wroeite in Dec.1844, months after the disappointment, Harrison, Second Coming, p.254.

been seen in connection with the spring 1844 and the seventh-month movement in American Millerism. There is a limit to how much disappointment one group can stand, but many will have put too much into their beliefs to abandon them. A disappointed trade unionist wrote, 'For me to swallow the idea that it doesn't work... would mean not only abandoning my faith but all that my father and grandfather...stood for. I've ⁷¹got to believe it. What's the alternative?' Thomas noted that Miller's computation and theory were 'utterly erroneous'. However, when his own calculations were disproved by time, Thomas stated that 'Even if all dates were to fail, the ground of confidence would remain ⁷²unaffected'.

Disconfirmation troubled the early Brethren who were forced to ⁷³justify their more permanent existence when their expectations failed. C.T.Russell recognized the Millerite movement as a fulfilment of Matthew 25.1,2, 'Doing a very important task in the separating, purifying, refining and making ready a waiting people'. This was obviously comforting to those ex-Millerites who were attracted to Russell's teachings, only to suffer further disappointment in 1878. Various and bizarre beliefs had sprung up in the wake of 1878, and when the Witnesses were disappointed in 1914, 'all sorts of new and strange ideas' ⁷⁴arose. . This is a regular concomitant of severe disappointment, and was one factor in scattering the British Millerites.

71. Graham Turner, 'Brothers without a cause', Sunday Telegraph, 2 Sept.1979,p.19; Evans, the Shaker leader, fell back on a prophecy attributed to an earlier leader when one of his own failed, Whitworth, God's Blueprints, p.58-59.
72. J Thomas, Chronikon Hebraikon (Birmingham,1917 edition), Prefatory Remarks, p.8; Christadelphian, 19(1882),370-71,515, quoted in Wilson, 'Social Aspects',p.890.
73. Coad, Brethren, p.126; compare Frere in CEQR, 24(1848),221.
74. Rogerson, Millions Now Living, pp.7-9,29-30. The invisible return was to be 1874 and the visible in 1878, after 3 1/2 years.

Another difficulty for the post-Albany group was that they could offer no satisfactory answer to what had happened in October 1844. To blame mistakes in chronology did not build confidence in the movement. Perhaps the sums could be even more seriously in error. There were plenty of speculations to choose from outside the Millerite ranks. What eventually became the largest body to emerge from October 1844, while not setting dates for the advent, explained the date as the commencement of the heavenly Yom Kippur. The adoption of the seventh-day sabbath gave Seventh-day Adventists a new dynamic to take the place of the time emphasis and justify a separate existence. They had also the charismatic presence of Ellen G. White. The Advent Christian Church found its main reason for existence separate from other Adventists in its doctrine of conditional immortality. The Catholic Apostolic Church turned to ritualism as the prophetic impulse died down, or was controlled. The Mormons substituted the space of America for the imminent advent. In the developments at Nauvoo and Salt Lake City, one could see prophecy being fulfilled. The participants were caught up in the drama of events.

The Millerite Adventists in Britain had no body of doctrine so clearly defined as to make them impervious to other teachings. The danger of side-issues was mentioned by Hutchinson, and was a feature of the Herald. The Millerites made converts among the Campbellites, but when the time expectation failed, some reverted to their former loyalty.⁷⁵ Both Campbellites and Millerites were susceptible to the very assured teaching of Thomas, a man who had no questions of the rightness of his understanding, and who had not yet been disproved by events. The Mormons recruited from former Millerites.

75. For example, at Nottingham.

The study of prophecy had been somewhat discredited by the glossolalia associated with the followers of Edward Irving, and by his own questionable Christological positions. The story of Henry Prince seemed to warn against advent proclamations. There was increasing uncertainty about prophetic dates among the 'students of prophecy', especially after the passing of 1847. The influence of preterism and futurism undermined the basis of interpretation. The effect of the Oxford Movement, and the work of S.R.Maitland and others in rehabilitating the Middle Ages, made the Protestant interpretation less credible. The whole historicist scheme depended on the Roman church as the great apostasy, ruling for 1260 years. Higher criticism can be ruled out as a factor, although there was a good deal of popular scepticism⁷⁶ concerning the Scripture by the 1840s. Essays and Reviews (1860) was the first important espousal of higher criticism by the Broad Church. Not until the 1880s did German rationalism, as it was sometimes called, make serious inroads into Nonconformity. Some disappointed Millerites may have drifted from religious radicalism to unbelief, a not uncommon road. Opponents of the Millerites were afraid that when prophecy appeared to fail, the erstwhile believers would lose faith not in their leaders, but in the Bible itself.⁷⁷ .

Others, whose course is easier to plot, found their way into other millenarian or 'come-outer' groups, or went quietly back to their former church or chapel life, perhaps still retaining a hope in the advent. A remnant, as noticed above, stayed on in the traditional Millerite faith. By 1861 the Seventh-day Adventists were in correspondence with sym-

76. W.B.Glover, Evangelical Nonconformity and Higher Criticism in the Nineteenth Century (1954), pp.44,56.

77. AH, 22 July 1846,p.191. Solomon, after leaving Adventism, became 'infidel' to all profession of religion until he discovered Mormonism.

pathizers in Britain, though not with known Millerites. The Advent Christian Church would not long after 1868 send a mission to England. The forms might change, but 'Apocalypticism, like Hills Brothers' Coffee, is unbeatable because it is always reheatable', until interpretation gives way to realization.⁷⁸

78. Advent Review and Sabbath Herald, 2 July 1861, p.47; 19 Nov., pp.198-99; 16 Dec.1862, p.21; Johnson, Advent Christian History, p.551; cited in Butler, 'When Prophecy Fails', p.8

CONCLUSION

A minor religious movement has been placed in its context, compared with analogous groups, and traced from its rise to near demise. Every known source for the study of the British Millerites has been examined, yet the picture is incomplete in the absence of membership lists and other records. Further information may come from local collections, although county repositories in the main Millerite centres have been searched.

This work has not overthrown the outline of earlier investigations, but because of its wider scope and extended period, has shown the Millerite movement to have been of more wide-reaching influence and more durable, albeit in fragmentary form, than was previously known. Despite this, there appear to be no organizational links between the British Millerites and the later Adventist bodies, except in the possible case of Piltdown.

How the spiritual descendants of William Miller re-established themselves in Britain is a later and still little-known story.

B I B L I O G R A P H Y

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Notes

Unless otherwise stated, the place of publication is London.

Works marked with an asterisk are those written, recommended or circulated by British Millerites, including works of American origin not listed by British Millerites but traced in Britain, and also those by non-Millerite writers where the work was circulated by British Millerites. Authors marked with an asterisk are Millerites. The works and authors so marked constitute a bibliography of British Millerism. However, this cannot claim to be exhaustive since the number of collections searched was limited. The following notes explain the symbols and conventions in the entries.

1. Author. In many cases, authors are not mentioned in lists of books and tracts given below. Where possible, these have been supplied from data in the 'Bibliographical Essay' in Gaustad, Rise of Adventism, pp. 207-301. For microfilm of most of the titles in Gaustad, Jean Hornstra, editor, The Millerites and Early Adventists. An Index to the microfilm collection (Ann Arbor, MI, 1978).

2. Title. The short titles used in some of the lists are printed as given, followed by the full title where known or probable or possible identifications.

3. Numbers printed. This is the total known to have been printed in, or imported into Britain.

4. Reference

AH	<u>Advent Herald</u> , Boston, date and page cited
AHMA	<u>Advent Herald and Midnight Alarm</u> , date and page cited
BM	Burnet Morris Collection, West Counties Study Library, Exeter
CMFM	<u>Christian Messenger and Family Magazine</u> , date and page cited
EAH	<u>European Advent Herald</u> , date and page cited
EAH 8	<u>European Advent Herald</u> , London, 1 July 1846, p.8
EAH 24	<u>ibid.</u> , 1 September 1846, p.24
EAH 32	<u>ibid.</u> , 10 October 1846, p.32
EAH 64	<u>ibid.</u> , 1 April 1847, p.64
Gaustad	'Bibliography Essay', see above, Note 1
JVH	Joshua V. Himes, editor or publisher
L	British Library

LDW	Dr Williams's Library
MC	<u>The Midnight Cry</u> , New York, date and page cited
MC 43	<u>The Midnight Cry</u> , New York, 18 May 1843, p.65
MCN 32	<u>The Midnight Cry</u> , Nottingham, 13 July 1844, p.32
MCN 48	<u>The Midnight Cry</u> , Nottingham, 3 August 1844, p.48
N	Nottingham Reference Library
nd	No date of publication
nil	No issues located in Britain or America
nil B	No issues located in Britain; known to exist in America
not G	Not in Gaustad
np	(within parentheses) Place of publication unknown
np	(without parentheses) No pagination
SAH	<u>Second Advent Harbinger</u> , date and page cited
SAH 48	<u>Second Advent Harbinger</u> , 23 April 1855, p.48
SAL	Second Advent Library, edited Joshua V. Himes, Boston. The volume number follows, e.g., SAL 25
SAL NS	Second Advent Library, New Series
ST	<u>Signs of the Times</u> , Boston, date and page quoted
VTGT	<u>Voice of Truth and Glad Tidings</u> , 1844-1846, date and page cited
WCB 47	W. C. Burgess, <u>Sermon on the Signs of the Times</u> , 1847
WCB 48	W. C. Burgess, <u>Evidence from Scripture and History</u> , 1848
WCB 48s	W. C. Burgess, <u>Six Discourses</u> , 1848
WCB 51	W. C. Burgess, <u>Farewell Discourses</u> , 1851

Reference to review articles of books have been included in a few instances where the book itself is hard to trace.

R Reviewed in

The United States postcode abbreviations have been used to designate states in locating American publications:

CA California
CT Connecticut

DC	District of Columbia
IL	Illinois
IN	Indiana
MA	Massachusetts
ME	Maine
MI	Michigan
NC	North Carolina
NH	New Hampshire
NJ	New Jersey
NY	New York
OH	Ohio
PA	Pennsylvania
TN	Tennessee
VT	Vermont

PRIMARY

Manuscripts

General Register Office	St Catherine's House, Marriage Certificates, 1846, Somerset House, Wills, 1865
Lambert	Mrs J.H.Lambert, 'A Life of Robert Winter', 14 June 1926, typed, addressed to the Review and Herald Association, Washington, DC
Leeds Archives	Harehills Lane Baptist Church, Call Lane, Minutes, 1851-60
Public Record Office	Census Returns, Home Office 107/1048 Census of Religious Worship, Home Office 129

Letters to the writer are referred to in the notes

Books and tracts

ABDIEL	See BROOKS, Joshua W.
<u>Abstract of Proceedings</u>	See 'Evangelical Alliance'
ADDIS, Alfred	<u>Heaven Opened: or, the Word of God: Being the twelve visions of Nebuchadnezzar, Daniel, and St. John explained</u> (1829) <u>The Theory of Prophecy</u> (1830)
* ADVENTIST, An	* <u>The Importance of the Doctrine of the First Resurrection and Second Coming of Christ, prominently set forth, with a definition of the nature of man and an exposition of the Words Hell, Devil and Satan</u> (Grimsby, 1850), LDW

- * Age to Come, The See GUNN, L. C.
- * AMERICAN MINISTER, An The Abrahamic Inheritance, see HUTCHINSON, R. EAH 8, WCB 47, 51, N
- * American Second Advent Conference Report No.1, No.2, MCN 48; see The First Report of the General Conference, and Report of the proceedings of the Second Session, below
- ANDERSON, James An Outline of My Life, or Selections from a fifty years' religious experience, etc. (Birmingham, 1912)
- ANDERSON, William An Apology for Millennial Doctrine; in the form in which it was entertained by the Primitive Church, 2 parts (Glasgow, 1830-31)
- Annual Report of the Congregational Union ... 1896 with historical sketches of the churches (1896)
- ATKINS, Robert A true picture; or a thrilling description of the state of the churches throughout Christendom, extracted from a discourse recently preached in London (1843), SAL 29
- BARKER, William Gibbs Friendly strictures upon certain portions of the Rev. E.B.Elliott's 'Horae Apocalypticae' (1847)
- BAXTER, Enos K. Review of Rev. Geo. Storrs, against the Literal Return of the Jews (Boston, 1843)
- BAXTER, Robert Narrative of Facts Characterizing the Supernatural Manifestations in Members of Mr Irving's Congregation and Other Individuals, 2nd edn (1833)
- BAYFORD, John Messiah's Kingdom, or, a Brief Inquiry Concerning What is Revealed in Scripture, Relative to the Fact, the Time, the Signs and the Circumstances of the Second Advent of the Lord Jesus Christ (1820)
- BEGG, James A. A Connected view of some of the Scriptural Evidence of the Redeemer's Speedy Personal Return, and Reign on Earth with His Glorified Saints, during the Millennium, Israel's Restoration to Palestine; and the Destruction of Antichristian Nations: with Remarks on Various Authors who Oppose these Doctrines 2nd edn (1830)
- BERTIE'S MOTHER Memorials of Bertie, the Taught of God. By his Mother. Dedicated to the Mothers of Great Britain, Ireland and America (London, Christian News and Day Star office, Glasgow,

Liverpool, and Manchester, Mar.1848)

Memorials of Bertie, The Taught of God. By his Mother. Abridged for the use of Children and Sabbath Schools (np, 1850?)

Memorials of Bertie's Brothers and Infant Sister. By their Mother (np, 1850?)

That Blessed Hope. Tract supplied by 'Bertie's Mother' to a Scottish minister. Presumably, but not certainly, written by 'Bertie's Mother', AH 6 Sept.1851,p.238

This Last Hour. Details as previous item

BICKERSTETH, Edward

The Dangers of the Church of Christ, 4th edn (1840)

- * The Divine Warning to the Church, at this time of our present enemies, dangers and duties, and as to our future prospects: A sermon preached before the Protestant Association at St. Dunstan's, Fleet Street, Nov. 5, 1842 (1842), over 900 sold, WCB 47, 48s, 51

A Practical Guide to the Prophecies, 6th edn (1839)

The Second Coming, the Judgement and the Kingdom of Christ: being Lectures delivered during Lent 1843 at St. George's Bloomsbury by Twelve Clergymen of the Church of England with a preface by the Rev. Edward Bickersteth (1843)

- * The Signs of the Times in the East; a warning to the West (1845), WCB 47, 51, EAH 12 Aug. 1846,p.15

BIRKS, Thomas Rawson

First Elements of Sacred Prophecy: including an examination of several recent expositions, and of the Year-Day theory (1843)

The Four Prophetic Empires (1845)

The Hope of the Apostolic Church: or the duties and privileges of Christians in connexion with the Second Advent, as unfolded in the First Epistle to the Thessalonians. Being lectures during Lent, 1845 at St. George's Bloomsbury. By Twelve Clergymen of the Church of England, preface by T. R. Birks (1845)

- Memoirs of the Rev. Edward Bickersteth, 3rd edn, 2 vols (1852)
- * The Two Later Visions of Daniel; historically explained (1846), WCB 47, 51
- BLAKENEY, Richard Paul A Manual of Romish Controversy: being a Refutation in Detail of the Creed of Pius IV (Edinburgh, London, 1851)
- Blessed Hope, The See under BERTIE'S MOTHER
- * BLISS, Sylvester * The Chronology of the Bible, showing from the Scriptures and undisputed authorities that we are near the end of six thousand years from creation (1833), SAL 38, MC 48, EAH 24, 64, Reprinted in England c.1844 by R.W.Vanderkiste, AH 21 Oct.1846,p.85, Nil B
- Memoirs of William Miller, generally known as a lecturer on the prophecies and Second Coming of Christ (Boston, 1853), facsimile reprint (New York, Communal Societies of America, 1971)
- * Questions on the Book of Daniel, EAH 24, 64. Not attributed to Bliss. Possible identification with an earlier edition of
- * Questions on the Book of Daniel designed for Bible students, in the Sabbath School, in the Bible class or at the fireside (Boston, JVH, 1852)
- * Reasons for our Hope, EAH 8, Original, Reasons for our Hope (Boston, JVH, 1843)
- BONAR, Horatius The Coming and Kingdom of the Lord Jesus Christ; being an examination of the work of the Rev. D.Brown, on the Second Coming of the Lord (Kelso, Edinburgh, and London, 1849)
- * BONHAM, James William * Address to the Churches on the Pre-millennial Advent of the Saviour, with Declaration of Principles (1850?) This is a slightly abridged reprint of the 26 May 1846 General Conference Address, preparatory to Himes's mission
- * A Lecture on the Kingdom of God (Ludlow, 1847)
- * The eternal punishment of the wicked, not annihilation; Three lectures...delivered at the Advent Church...Exeter...on Lord's Day

- Dec. 19 and 26, 1847 (London and Exeter, 1847), AH 22 July 1848, p.200
- The Great Revival in the Church of England, a lecture (New York, 1875), L
- BORLASE, Henry
C., St. Keynes, Cornwall Reasons which have constrained me to withdraw from the Ministry of the Established Church (place and date not traced)
- BREALEY, Walter John Henry 'Always Abounding'. A romance of revival in the Blackdown Hills: in life and labours of George Brealey, by his son (1897)
- BROCK, Mourant * Glorification (1845), SAL NS4, WCB 47
- BROOKS, Joshua W. * The Lord's Coming, a great practical doctrine, etc (1845), SAL NS3, WCB 47, 51
A Dictionary of Writers on the Prophecies, compiled by the Editor of The Investigator on Prophecy (1835)
- * Abdiel's Essays on the Advent and Kingdom of Christ, and the events connected therewith (1834), WCB 47, 48s, 51
- The Elements of Prophetical Interpretation (1836)
- BROWN, David
Minister of St. James' Free Church, Glasgow Christ's Second Coming: Will it be premillennial? (Edinburgh, 1846, 1849)
- * BROWN, Freeman G. Views and Experience in Relation to Entire Consecration and the Second Advent: Addressed to the Ministers of the Portsmouth, N.H., Baptist Association (1843), SAL 23
- A Warning to Watchfulness (1843), SAL 40
- BROWN, John Aquila The Even-Tide; or, Last Triumph of the Blessed and only Potentate, The King of Kings, and Lord of Lords; being a development of the mysteries of Daniel and St. John, 2 vols (1823)
- * BURGESS, William C. * The Abrahamic Inheritance - see HUTCHINSON, R.; WCB 48s appears to attribute this to Burgess
- * Age to Come - see GUNN, L. C.; WCB 48 appears to attribute this to Burgess
- * Daniel's Vision and John's harmonized, also as Visions of Daniel and John harmonized, Not G. Attributed to Burgess in BM, and by

implication in WCB 48s. See HERVEY, N. for possible author. EAH 8, 24, WCB 48, 51, nil

- * A Discourse (on Col. 11:8) on the danger of being spoiled through Philosophy and Vain Deceit (Devonport, 1850), L
- * A Discourse on the Importance of Contending for the Faith once Delivered to the Saints (Devonport, 1850), L
- * A Discourse 'On the Kingdom of God' (Devonport, 1848), L
- * On the Duty and necessity of searching the Scriptures with Rules to make them easy of comprehension, nd, BM, EAH 23 Dec.1846,p.48, WCB 48s, 51
- * Evidence from Scripture and History, and the Signs of the Present Times, of the Speedy Personal Coming of Christ to reign King over all the earth, contained in a sermon delivered in the Second Advent Chapel, Plymouth (Devonport, 1848), L
- * Farewell Discourses, The first showing what is true Christian Baptism. The second on the importance of frequent Communion at the table of the Lord. The third Farewell Discourse, contains an affirmation and recapitulation of the leading doctrines taught and believed by the society worshipping in the Second Advent Chapel (Plymouth, 1851), L
- * Modern Phenomena of the Heavens; or Signs of the great day of the Lord being near, with the substance for a lecture on the Signs of the Times by W.C.Burgess, see JONES, H. for Modern Phenomena (Exeter,1847),BM, WCB 48s, L
- * On the Parable of the Ten Virgins and the Midnight Cry applied to the Present Time: contained in a Sermon, etc (Devonport, 1848), BM, L
- * A Selection of Hymns, WCB 48
- * Signs of the Great Day of our Lord being near, with the substance of a Lecture on the Signs of the Times, WCB 48. Presumably Modern Phenomena, as above
- * Signs of the Times - see Modern Phenomena
- * Six Discourses containing Lectures, Expos-

itions and Discussions relating to the Second Coming of Christ and Events connected therewith, proving from the fulfilment of Prophecy and the Signs of the Times the Kingdom of God to be nigh, even at the Door (Devonport, 1848), BM, L. In the British Library the lectures are bound in a cover which advertizes, among other works, Burgess's Sermons of February 1850. This explains why Purdon's Last Vials are listed in WCB 48s but not in WCB 48. The discourses are bound together, paginated separately:

1. On the Glory of God filling the Third Heaven and the Third Earth, a sermon in the Second Advent Chapel, Wyndham Street...Sermon, Plymouth, October 1, 1848
 2. On the History of Ancient Babylon and its typical relation to the present time: and Ancient Jerusalem in its typical relation to the present state of the church and the city to come...Sermon...October 8, 1848
 3. On the Character, History, and Burial of Gog and Magog; with their Resurrection, Judgment, and final Destruction from the Earth... Sermon...October 15, 1848
 4. On the Two Witnesses of the Old and New Testaments together with some remarks by Dr. Croly, Minister of the Church of England, on the French Revolution... Sermon...October 22, 1848
 5. On the Parable of the Ten Virgins and the Midnight Cry applied to the present time...Sermon...October 29, 1848
 6. On the Seven Last Vials or the things which are coming to Earth which we must pray to be accounted worthy to escape... Sermon...November 12, 1848
- * Six Discourses describing the real nature and tendency of the Papacy, and showing the importance of our believing, receiving and obeying the word of the Lord. Burgess gives this as the substance, but not necessarily the exact title. WCB, preface to A Discourse on the danger of being spoiled through Philosophy, see above
- * Substance of Discourses on the interesting characters of Adam, Eve, Abel, Cain, Enoch,

- Noah, Abraham, Lot, Melchizedik, Isaac, Jacob, and Joseph, delivered in Plymouth (np, nd), BM
- * Twelve Discourses on the Kingdom of God and events connected therewith, WCB 48s
- * Twelve Discourses on twelve eminent biblical characters, possibly an earlier version of the Substance of Discourses on the interesting characters, see above; (nd, 1848?), WCB 48s
- * Two Discourses on the Sin and Licentiousness of the Tongue delivered by W.C. Burgess, Feb. 10, 1850 (np, 1850?), BM, WCB 48s, 51
- BURROUGHES, Jeremiah Jerusalem's Glory Breaking Forth (1836)
- CASWALL, Henry The City of the Mormons; or Three Days at Nauvoo, in 1842 (1842)
- CHAMBERS, Robert Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation (1844)
- CHESEAUX,
Jean Philippe Loys de 'Remarques historiques, chronologiques, et astronomiques, sur quelques endroits du Livre de Daniel', in Memoires posthumes de Monsieur Jean Philippe Loys de Cheseaux...sur divers sujets, d'astronomie et de mathematiques avec de nouvelles tables tres exactes des moyens mouvements du soleil et de la lune (Lausanne, 1754)
- CHILDS, John Glynn The Scriptural Doctrine of the Second Advent of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Two Sermons by the Rev. J. G. Childs, BA. (1846), L catalogue suggests 1848, but Himes referred to the book in 1846
- CLARKE, Adam * Clarke's Chart of the Gospel, WCB 47, 51
- CLERGYMAN See under PURDON
- A Clue to the Time See HERSEY, Lewis
- COLEY, Samuel The Life of the Rev. Thomas Collins, 2nd edn (1869)
- * COOK, John B. * A Solemn Appeal to ministers and churches, especially to those of the Baptist denomination, relative to the speedy coming of Christ (1843), SAL 35, MCN 48, EAH 24, L
- The true source of immortality, or a brief enquiry into the origin of the doctrine that

- the soul of man is a distinctive immortal - an embryo angel dwelling in his body - that death is a separation of this spiritual being from the body; and that it passes to its reward when this separation takes place (Hartford, CT, 1847)
- COOPER, Edward The Crisis; or, an attempt to shew from Prophecy, illustrated by the signs of the times, the prospects and duties of the Church of Christ at the present period. With an enquiry into the probable destiny of England during the predicted desolations of the Papal Kingdoms (1825, Cincinnati, OH, 1827)
- CORNWALLIS,
Caroline Francis Christian Sects in the Nineteenth Century. In a series of letters to a lady (1846)
- COX, John The Future: an outline of events predicted in the Holy Scriptures; being a revised edition of 'Themes for Thought in the Prophetic Page' (1862)
- A Millenarian's Answer of the Hope that is in Him, or a Brief statement and defence of the doctrine of Christ's premillennial Advent and personal reign on earth; To which is added, a brief history of millennialism consisting of various quotations from writers on this subject, both ancient and modern, 3rd edn (1832)
- CROMPTON, Joseph William Christianity without Sect: addressed to the congregation of the Octagon Chapel (Norwich, 1850)
- CROSBY, Alphaeus 'The Second Advent', or What do Scriptures teach respecting the Second Advent of Christ, the End of the World, the Resurrection of the Dead, and the General Judgment (Boston, 1850)
- CUNINGHAME, William A Dissertation on the Seals and Trumpets of the Apocalypse; and the Prophetical Period of Twelve Hundred and Sixty Years, 1st edn (1813), 4th edn (1843)
- The Fulfilling of the Times of the Gentiles a conspicuous sign of the end (1847)
- On the Jubilean Chronology of the Seventh Trumpet of the Apocalypse and the Judgment of the Ancient of Days, Daniel VII. 9, discoveries of Monsieur Cheseaux (Glasgow, 1834)
- A Synopsis of Chronology, from the Era of

- Creation, according to the Septuagint, to the year 1837 (1837)
- The Scheme of Prophetic Arrangement of the Rev. Edward Irving and Mr. Frere Critically Examined. Supplement to Scientific Chronology of the year 1839 (1840)
- DAVIS, William C. The Millennium, or a Short Sketch of the Rise and Fall of Antichrist (Salisbury, NC, 1808, Workington, 1818)
- DAWSON, W. D.,
H. Hudston Reply to the Impeachment of the Gospel Banner (Nottingham, 1850)
- * DEALTRY, Charles * A Lecture upon the Coming of Christ and Restitution of the Kingdom of Israel in 1847 by Mr. C. Dealtry. Faithfully reported in shorthand, as delivered on Sunday, January 4, 1846, at the Central Hall, Plymouth (Devonport, 1846), BM, nil
- * Lecture on the Second Coming of Christ (Plymouth, nd), BM, nil
- DECK, James George A Word of Warning to all who love the Lord Jesus. The heresy of Mr. Prince; with extracts from his letters, 2nd edn (1845)
- * Declaration of Principles by the Mutual General Conference of Adventists at Albany, N.Y., Apr. 29, 1845 (Albany, NY, 1845)
- DENMAN, B. W.
(possible author) * The End of the World (2), q.v.
- DENMAN, B. W. * A Word for the Season; or Messrs. Dealtry and Burgess's Predictions of the Second Advent in 1847 and their Doctrine of Baptism by Total Immersion Briefly Examined and Disproved, with some remarks on the Tendency of their Proceedings (Devonport, 1846?), BM, nil
- DIGBY, William A Treatise on the 1260 Days of Daniel and Saint John: being an attempt to establish the conclusion that they are years; and also to fix the date of their commencement and termination (Dublin, 1831)
- A Digest of the Rules and Regulations of the People Denominated Bible Christians, comprising an explanation of the duties of official characters and jurisdiction of the various meetings (Shebbear, Devon, 1838)
- DOW, William The Church's Hope in the First Century, its

- Hope also in the Nineteenth, a Sermon preached on the 1st of January, 1847 (Edinburgh, 1847)
- DRUMMOND, Henry,
Edward Irving, and others Dialogues on Prophecy, 3 vols. (1827-29)
- DUFFIELD, George A Dissertation on the Prophecies Relating to the Second Coming (New York, 1842)
- Edinburgh Association
for Promoting the
Study of Prophecy Lectures on Subjects Connected with Prophecy, first series by J. W. Brooks (Edinburgh, 1841)
- ELLIOTT, Edward Bishop Horae Apocalypticae; or, A Commentary on the Apocalypse critical and historical, 4th edn. (1851)
- * End of the World (1) 10,000 copies, AH 5 June 1844, p.142, nil
- * End of the World (2) (Devonport, nd, no later than October 1845) a pamphlet or sheet opposing the preaching of Burgess and Dealtry in Exeter, Plymouth and Taunton. It was being sold as far as sixty miles from Devonport. No issues located but printed in extenso; VTGT 3 Dec.1845, p.545, AH 26 Nov.1845, p.127
- Evangelical Alliance Abstract of the Proceedings, and Final Resolutions of the Conference of the Evangelical Alliance held in Freemasons' Hall, London on 19 August and following days (1846)
- Report of the Proceedings of the Conference held at Freemasons' Hall, London, from August 19th to Sept. 2nd., 1846 (1847)
- Evidences of Christ's Coming, 3,000, MC 43, probably the following:
MILLER, William, Evidences from Scripture and History of the Second Coming of Christ about the year 1843 and of his personal reign of 1000 years (Brandon, VT, 1833), and later printings, SAL 2
- FABER, George Stanley An inquiry into the history and theology of the Ancient Vallenses and Albigenses; as exhibiting ... the perpetuity of the sincere Church of Christ (1838)
- A Dissertation on the Prophecy Contained in Daniel IX. 24-27; Generally Denominated The Prophecy of the Seventy Weeks (1811)
- A general and connected view of the prophecies, relative to the conversion, restoration, union, and future glory of the

houses of Judah and Israel; the progress, and final overthrow, of the antichristian confederacy in the Land of Palestine; and the ultimate diffusion of Christianity, 2 vols (1808)

The Sacred Calendar of Prophecy: or a dissertation on the prophecies, which treat of the Grand Period of Seven Times, and especially of its second moiety or the latter three times and a half, 3 vols (1828)

A Treatise on the Genius and Object of the Patriarchal, the Levitical, and the Christian Dispensations (1823)

FARROW, Frederick W. History of Interpretation: Eight Lectures Preached before the University of Oxford in the year MDCCCLXXXV (1886)

FINLEYSON, John The Last Trumpet and the Flying Angel (1849)

FINNEY, Charles Grandison Lectures on Revivals of Religion, ed. by W. G. McLoughlin, Jr. (Cambridge, MA, 1960)

First Report of the General Conference of Christians Expecting the Advent of Our Lord Jesus Christ, held in Boston, Oct. 14, 15, 1840 (Boston, 1841)

* FITCH, Charles * The 'Fatal Mistake' mistaken (Boston, 1841), L, not G

* The Glory of God in the Earth (1842), SAL 15, EAH 8, 24

* Letter to Josiah Litch on the Second Coming (1841), SAL 7, L

* Reasons for believing the Second Advent About 1843, 2,000, MC 43, MCN 48, nil, not G. Certainly the same as Reasons for believing the Coming of Christ in 1843, though Winter gives Miller as author, ST 1 Feb. 1843, p. 158

* Reasons for withdrawing from the Newark Presbytery (Newark, NJ, 1840), L. This is a possible identification for Fitch, Reasons, printed by Winter, MC 43, but more probably is Reasons for believing, listed above.

* A Wonderful and Horrible Thing (1842), SAL 16, MC 48, L

* FLEMING, Lorenzo Dow * Brief History of that Old Serpent called the Devil and Satan, MC 12 Feb. 1844, p. 244, not G

- * First principles of the Second Advent Faith, with Scripture proofs (1844), SAL 43, AH 17 April 1844, p.86, EAH 8
 - * The Midnight Cry: A synopsis of the evidence of the Second Coming of Christ about A.D. 1843 (1842), SAL 12, L. Reprinted by Winter as, A synopsis, 2,000, MC 43, MCN 48
- FREMANTLE, William R, ed. Israel Restored: or the Spiritual Claim of the Jews upon the Christian Church. Lectures delivered during Lent 1841, by Twelve Clergymen of the Church of England (1841)
- FRERE, James Hatley A Combined View of the Prophecies of Daniel, Esdras, and St. John... (1815)
- Eight letters on the Prophecies relating to the last times... (1831)
- The Great Continental Revolution marking the expiration of the Times of the Gentiles. A.D. 1847-48, 1st edn (1848)
- FRY, John Observations on the unfulfilled prophecies of Scripture which are yet to have their accomplishment, before the coming of the Lord (1835)
- The Second Advent; or the Glorious Epiphany of Our Lord Jesus Christ (1822)
- GALLOWAY, William Brown Apocalyptic Chart, presenting on one sheet the structure of the Prophecy, and a condensed interpretation (1852)
- The Gate of Prophecy; being the Revelation of Jesus Christ by St. John, theologically and historically expounded, and shown to elucidate various prophecies of Isaiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, Zechariah and St. Paul, 2 vols (1846)
- * GALUSHA, Elon Address of Elder Elon Galusha, with reasons for believing Christ's second coming at hand (Rochester, NY, 1844)
- GAUNTLETT, Henry An Exposition of the Book of Revelation, 2nd edn (1821)
- GAUSSEN, Louis The German rebuke of American neology, a discourse ... entitled Popery, an argument for the truth by its fulfilment of scripture prophecies (Boston, 1844)

- GILFILLAN, George Life of the Rev. William Anderson (1873)
- GOODWIN, Thomas The Expositions of that Famous Divine Thomas Goodwin D. D. on part of the Epistle to the Ephesians, and on the Book of Revelation (1842)
- The French Revolution foreseen in 1639. Extracts from an Exposition of the Revelation, by an eminent divine of both Universities, in the Beginning of the Last Century (1796)
- GORTON, Benjamin A Scriptural Account of the Millennium (Troy, NY, 1802)
- GOVETT, Robert English derived from Hebrew, with glances at Greek and Latin (1869)
- GRANT, Asahel The Nestorians; or the Lost Tribes: Containing Evidence of their Identity; on Account of their Manners, Customs and Ceremonies; together with sketches of travel: Ancient Assyria ... and Illustrations of Prophecy (1841)
- * The Great Crisis WCB 47, 48, 51, EAH 8, 24. Possibly Great Crisis, Eighteen Hundred Forty-three (1842), SAL 41. But this was a broadsheet and an unlikely reprint for 1847
- * GUNN, Lewis C. * The age to come! The present organisation of matter, called earth, to be destroyed by fire at the end of this age or dispensation: also, before the event, Christians may know about the time when it shall occur, revised edn (1844), SAL 41, WCB 47, 48, 48s, 51, EAH 24. BM attributes Age To Come to Burgess
- * GUNNER, Frederick Twelve Essays on the Personal Reign of Christ and kindred subjects (Philadelphia, 1851), PFF, IV. 716-718
- HABERSHON, Matthew A Dissertation on the Prophetic Scriptures, chiefly those of a chronological character; showing their aspect on the present times, and on the destinies of the Jewish Nation, 1st edn (1834)
- * The Shadows of the Evening, or Signs of the Lord's Speedy Return (1845), 48S, WCB 47, 51
- Two Remarkable Signs of the Times, viewed in connection with prophecy. First, Reasons for believing the Duke of Orleans to be the first thunder. Second, An authentic account of the

West London Synagogue for British Jews ... forming an Appendix to the third edition of 'A Dissertation on the Prophetic Scriptures' (1842)

* HALE, Apollos

- * The Second Advent Manual; in which the objection to calculating the prophetic times are considered; the difficulties connected with the calculation explained; and the facts and arguments on which Mr. Miller's calculations rest, are briefly stated and sustained, with a diagram (1843), SAL 36, EAH 8. Reprinted in England c.1844 by R.W.Vanderkiste, AH 21 Oct.1846,p.85

HAM, J. Panton

The Generations Gathered and Gathering: Scripture Doctrine concerning Man in Death (Bristol, 1850)

* HARVEY, N.,

see HERVEY, N.

* HAWLEY, Silas

- * Reply to Elder Knapp. Open communion in opposition to restricted communion maintained. The substance of two lectures given in New Bedford (New Bedford, MA, 1842), L. Not listed in UK Millerite papers

- * The Second Advent Doctrine Vindicated: a sermon preached at the dedication of the tabernacle with the address of the Tabernacle committee (1843), SAL 34, MC 48. The Leeds believers had a new edition printed in 1845, AH 26 Nov.1845,p.127, nil B

A Declaration of Sentiments reported by S. Hawley to the Christian Union Convention held in Syracuse, August 21st, 1838 (Cazenovia, NY, 1839)

HAZEN, James A.

The False Alarm: A Discourse delivered in the Congregational Church, South Wilbraham...June 12, 1842 (Springfield, MA, 1842)

* HERSEY, Lewis

- * A Clue to the Time, broadsheet, nd, c. Nov. 1842, printed in MC 19 Nov.1842,p.4. Reprinted by Winter in AHMA 28 Aug. 1844, pp.17-19, 6,000, ST 1 Feb.1843,p.158, MC 43, nil B

The Marriage Supper of the Lamb, together with Daniel's vision harmonized and explained (Boston,1842), L

* HERVEY, Nathaniel

- * Prophecies of Christ's first and second advent. Daniel's vision harmonized and explained (1843), SAL 24, SAH 24, MCN 48.

Summarized in PFF, IV, 708-09; possible identification for Daniel's Vision and John's vision harmonized, EAH 8, and The visions of Daniel and John harmonized, EAH 24, WCB 47, 48, 48s, nil

- * Witness of the Spirit in the Work of Sanctification. Baptism of the Holy Ghost. 2nd edn. enlarged with a letter from F. G. Brown (Boston, 1844), L

- * HIMES, Joshua Vaughan * Millennial Harp, or Second Advent Hymns, designed for meetings on the Second Advent of Christ (Boston, 1842), EAH 8, 24, 64. There were several editions and variations of this hymnal, Gaustad, p.227

- * Hymns of the Harp, without music, is probably the words-only edition of the above, EAH 8,64

Views of the Prophecies and Prophetic Chronology; Selected from manuscripts of William Miller with a Memoir of His Life (Boston, 1842)

HOOPER, John

The Advent; or the revelation, appearing and coming of the Lord (London and Nottingham, 1847)

Apocalypsis; or The Revelation of Jesus Christ minutely interpreted and considered, in relation to the Church's Expectation of the nearness of the Lord's Appearing and Kingdom (1846)

- * The Present Crisis, considered in relation to the hope of the glorious appearing of the Great God, and our Saviour Jesus Christ (1830), SAL 8, MC 48

The translation; or, the changing of the living saints and their deliverance from the judgments which are coming on the earth (1846)

A Word in Season: a series of subjects addressed to the flock committed to his charge (1844)

- * HUTCHINSON, Richard * The Abrahamic Inheritance, showing what it is, who are the heirs, and when it will come, by an American minister (Nottingham, 1844), MC 48, WCB 47, 48s, 51, EAH 8, N. An edition of Hutchinson, The Abrahamic Covenant, (Montreal, 1843)

A Brief Statement of the Facts for a Consideration of the Methodist People and the Public in General, especially in Eastern Canada (Montreal, 1850)

- * The Kingdom of God, issued as Tract No.1. The substance of an article in EAH 13 Aug.1846, pp.8-14, EAH 24, WCB 48, 47, 48s, nil B. Also, same title, Tracts for the Times, No.11 (Boston, 1855)

The Throne of Judah Perpetuated in Christ (Montreal, 1843)

- * The Inheritance of the Saints, not identified EAH 8, not G, nil

- * Israel and the Holy Land, see WARD, Henry D., WCB 47, 48, 48s, 51

JOHNSON, Robert William Shadows of the Future. A Series of Resolves on the Data for Unfulfilled Prophecy (1843)

- * JONES, Henry American views of Christ's second advent consisting mostly of lectures delivered before general conventions in the cities of Boston, Lowell and New York; indicating the Lord's personal and glorious appearing on earth, to judge the world, 'at hand', without fixing the time, without a previous millennium; or return of the Jews to Palestine. Selected and in part given, by H. Jones (New York, 1842)

- * Modern Phenomena of the Heavens; or, prophetic 'great signs' of the special near approach of 'the end of all things' (New York, 1843)

- * Modern Phenomena of the Heavens, by H. Jones of America. Reprinted by Request, together with a Sermon on the Signs of the Times by W. C. Burgess (Exeter, 1847), WCB 48S, 51

JONES, William Autobiography of William Jones. Edited by his son (1846)

- * The Jubilee Trumpet and Millennial Crisis contains, Lectures on the Typical Sabbaths, the Resurrection of the Dead, Binding of Satan One Thousand Years, Reign of Christ. Gunner referred to this as a new work and had ordered 2,000 to be printed. MC 13 June 1844, p.384, EAH 24, not G, nil. Possible identifications: The Jubilee Trumpet, ed. L.Caldwell (Cincinnati, OH, 1843) or The Jubilee Trumpet, ed. S.S.Snow (New York, 1843), although Gunner speaks of a book

- JUKES, Andrew The Law of the Offerings in Leviticus i - vii considered as the appointed figure of the various aspects of the offering of the body of Jesus Christ (1847)
- KING, David Memoir of David King. With various papers and addresses advocating the restoration in principle and in practice of primitive Christianity. Compiled by his wife Louisa King (Birmingham, 1898)
- * Lament of Ezekiel over Tyre (1825), MC 14 Dec.1843,p.152, nil
- Last Hour, This See under BERTIE'S MOTHER
- Last Vials See PURDON, R. A.
- * Last Warning nd, np, 4,000, SAH 48, Gaustad p.311, nil
- Latter Days, The Railways, Steam, and Emigration, with its consequent rapid re-peopling of the deserts, also the rapid going to and fro, and increase of knowledge, foretold by Isaiah, Daniel and Joel, and indicating the rapid approach of the end of the Latter Days (Dublin, 1854)
- * Lecture on the Kingdom of God, WCB 51. Probably Burgess, Discourse 'On the Kingdom of God', q.v.
- LEE, Samuel The events and times of the Visions of Daniel and St. John (1830, 1851)
- * LENFEST, J. * The locker, containing some precious and glorious truths from the great storehouse of God's word; served out by an unworthy steward on board the gospel ship for the benefit of his brother seamen (np, 1845), EAH 24
- * Letter on Dr. Raffles EAH 24. See PROTESTANT NONCONFORMIST
- * Letter to everybody for general distribution. Possible identification: Surely I come quickly. A letter to everybody, by an English author, from the 5th London edition. Revised and abridged by J. V. Himes (Boston, 1842). The references in WCB and EAH might be to separate letters, WCB 47, 48, 48s, 51, EAH 8
- * LITCH, Josiah * Judaism Overthrown: or the kingdom restored to the true Israel, with the Scriptural evidence of the epoch of the kingdom in 1843 (1842), SAL 25, MCN 48, L. Reprinted in England c. 1844 by R.W.Vanderkiste, AH 21 Oct.1846,p.85

- The Probability of the Second Coming of Christ about A.D. 1843 (Boston, 1838)
- * Prophetic Expositions; or a Connected View of the Testimony of the Prophets Concerning the Kingdom of God and The Time of its Establishment, Vol.I (1842), SAL 19, Vol.II (1842), SAL 20, MCN 48. As Exposition of Prophecy, 2 vols, MCN 48, EAH 8
- LUTHER, Martin * Luther's Sermon, EAH 8. Possible identification: Meat in due season: a sermon by Martin Luther (the Reformer), Advent Tracts, No.7 (New York, JVH, 1845) or, The Signs of Christ's Coming, and of the Last Day: Being Extracts from a Very Choice and Excellent Sermon upon Luke xxi.25-34 (Edinburgh, 1832)
- LYND, S. W. The Second Advent of Christ (Cincinnati, OH, 1843)
- McCAUL, Alexander Reasons for holding fast the Authorized English Version of the Bible (1857)
- MAITLAND, Samuel Roffey An Enquiry into the Grounds on which the Prophetic Period of Daniel and St. John has been supposed to consist of 1260 years (1826)
- MANN, Horace 'Religious Worship', Religious Census, 1851, Parliamentary Papers, LXXXIX (1852-53)
- MARLES, Henry The Life and Labours of the Rev. Jabez Tunnicliff (1865)
- MASON, Archibald Appendix to an inquiry into the prophetic numbers contained in the 1335 days (Glasgow, 1818). Also in the following title:
Two Essays on Daniel's prophetic number of two thousand three hundred days; and on the Christian's duty to inquire into the Church's deliverance (Glasgow, 1820)
- Meat in due Season; a sermon by Martin Luther (the Reformer) (New York, JVH, 1845)
- Methodist New Connexion: A Jubilee Memorial of the Local Preachers' Conferences (Nottingham, 1876)
- * MICKLEWOOD, Edmund An Exposition of Daniel (Tadcaster, 1842), BM, nil
- * The Chronological Arrangement of the Apocalypse, a large sheet, EAH 23 Dec 1846, p.44. Probably the same as Chronological Arrangement of the Revelation, WCB 47,

Diagram, and Key below

- * Chronological Chart of the World (probably by Micklewood), EAH 8, but see under WINTER
- * Daniel, a small tract, full title not known, 2,000, AH 17 Mar.1847,p.48, nil, not G
- * Diagram Arrangement of the Revelation (London, 1846), EAH 24, 32, not G
- * The Gospel of the Kingdom of God, including a Letter to Mr. James Pugh, addressed to the Churches of Christ (London, Plymouth, 1862), L, not G
- * The Key to the Chronological Arrangement of the Apocalypse (1847), L, not G
- * The Key to the Revelation, The False Prophet of these Last Days preceding the Second Coming of Christ (London, Malvern, Plymouth, 1900), BM
- * The Millennium and Seventh-day Adventism (Plymouth, London, 1907, Malvern, 1910). This may be by Edmund Micklewood junior
- * Modern Phenomena of the Heavens. Preface by Edmund Micklewood, see JONES, Henry.
- * The Revelation of Jesus Christ which God the Father gave unto him to show unto his servants - Blessed be he that readeth and they who hear and they who keep the things written in his book. In this work is shown by the contents of the prophecy and the parallel order of their arrangements where unto we are come in our subject and suffering condition, how far we have yet to travel before our hope shall be realised, and what lies between us and that day of glory which awaits us (1900), other details as Key to the Revelation above, L, BM

The Voice of Warning, to this nation and to the world, or the Second Advent of Christ (Tadcaster, Dec.1843), AH 17 April 1844,p.86, not G, nil

The Voice of Warning: The Time made Sure, possibly the same paper as above, was printed in MCN 10 Aug. 1844,pp.54-55

Millennial Harp,
or Second Advent Hymns

See HIMES, J. V.

* MILLER, William

Apology and Defence (Boston, 1849)

The Bible Students' Manual of Chronology and Prophecy elected From the Works of William Miller; with a Chronological Chart, Recently Prepared by Him (Boston, 1841)

- * Dissertation on the true inheritance, see True Inheritance
- * Evidence of Second Coming of Christ about 1843, in nine lectures and a chart of world's age, MCN 48 (a shorter version, or cheap reprint of Evidence below)
- * Evidence from Scripture and History of the Second Coming of Christ, about the Year 1843, exhibited in a Series of Lectures (Troy, NY, 1838, Boston, 1842)
- * A familiar exposition of the twenty-fourth chapter of Matthew and the fifth and sixth chapters of Hosea; to which are added an address to the General Conference on the advent and a scene of the last day (1842), SAL 3, MCN 48
- * The Kingdom of God, (1842), SAL 21, EAH 8, MCN 48. Hutchinson's book of the same title was not published until 1846
- * Life and Views, EAH 64, not clearly identified. Possibly W. Miller's Apology and defence (Boston, 1845)
- * Miller's Lectures, MC 43, 2,000, MCN 48. Presumably an edition of Evidence from Scripture and History. A more expensive volume of the same title listed EAH 64, perhaps the full edition of Evidence
- * Miller's reply to Bush, on Prophetic events, probably Bush, George, and Wm. Miller. Probable identification: Reasons for rejecting Mr. Miller's views on the advent, by Rev. George Bush; with Mr. Miller's reply, (1842), SAL 44, EAH 8
- * Reasons for believing the coming of Christ in 1843. This is attributed to Miller in Winter's letter, actually by Fitch, q.v., ST 1 Feb. 1843, p. 158
- * Review of a discourse delivered in the North Church, Newbury port, on the last evening of

- the year 1841, by L. F. Dimmick, pastor of the church (1842), SAL 13, MCN 48
- * Synopsis of Miller's views (Boston, JVH, 1842), 1,000, SAH 48
 - * True Inheritance of the Saints, MCN 48, EAH 8, 24. Almost certainly Dissertation on the inheritance of the Saints, and the twelve hundred and sixty days of Daniel and John: with an address to the Conference of Believers in the Second Advent (1842), SAL 7
 - * The Typical Sabbaths - A lecture on the typical sabbaths and great jubilee (1842), SAL 14, MCN 48
 - * Views of the prophecies and prophetic chronology, selected from manuscripts of William Miller; with a memoir of his life, ed. JVH (Boston, 1841), EAH 64
- MONTAGU, George
6th Duke of Manchester The Finished Mystery: to which is added, and examination of Mr. Brown on the Second Advent (1847)
- NEWMAN, John Henry Apologia pro Vita Sua, being a history of religious opinions, ed. Martin J. Svaglic (Oxford, 1967)
- NEWTON, Benjamin Wills The Prophetic system of Mr. Elliott and Dr. Cumming considered (1850)
- NOLAN, Frederick The Chronological Prophecies as constituting a connected system...a series of lectures delivered in the Chapel...of Lincoln's... (1837)
- The Time of the Millennium Investigated; and its nature determined on scriptural grounds (1831)
- O'BRYAN, William On the Millennium - A Sermon on Revelation XX.6, 4th edn (Plymouth, 1850)
- PALMER, W. A Compendious Ecclesiastical History (1841)
- PARK, John R. A Concise Exposition of the Apocalypse, So Far as the Prophecies Are Fulfilled. To Which Are Prefixed the History of Christianity Epitomised: and A Vocabulary of Symbols, 2nd edn, much enlarged (1825)
- PHILO ISRAEL An Inquiry Into the Truth of the Alleged Identification of the British Nation with the Lost Jews (1875)

- PICK, Aaron The Gathering of Israel; or the Patriarchal Blessing, as contained in the Forty ninth Chapter of Genesis (1848)
- PIERS, Octavius
V. Preston, Nr. Weymouth The door not shut: or, Three Reasons for not believing Mr. Prince to be a true prophet, affectionately addressed to those of his parishioners and others, who still follow that gentleman (1846), quoted by JVH in AH 30 Sept.1846,p.58
- PRATT, Parley P. A Voice of Warning and Invitation to all People, or introduction to the Faith and Doctrine of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, 1st European edn from the 2nd American edn (Manchester, 1841)
- PREBLE, Thomas M. The Voice of God: or an account of the unparalleled fires, hurricanes, floods and earthquakes, commencing with 1845; also some account of pestilence, famine, and increase of crime (Albany, NY, 1847)
- The Present Age; its boasted progress delusive; from the London Quarterly Journal of Prophecy for Jan. 1850 (1850), SAL NS9
- PRINCE, Henry James The Charlinch Revival: or an account of the remarkable work of grace which has lately taken place at Charlinch, in Somersetshire (1842)
- Letters addressed by the Rev. Henry James Prince to his Christian Brethren at St. David's College, Lampeter, 2nd edn (Llandovery, 1841)
- Proofs of the Second Coming of Messiah in 1844, AH 19 Aug.1846,p.13
- A Prophetic Almanac for the Year 1844 (Being the 6000th Year of the World, pp.38. Not identified. 'clear he must have seen Miller's works.' Himes, AH 19 Aug. 1846,p.13
- PROTESTANT
NONCONFORMIST * A Letter to Dr. Raffles. Extract from a Letter to the Rev. Dr. Raffles of Liverpool, on the subject of his 'JUBILEE HYMN'. By a Protestant Nonconformist Layman, extracts in EAH 1 Sept.1846,p.23; 10 Oct.1846, pp.30-32.
- * A U.S. edn: LAICUS, The Second advent introductory to the World's Jubilee: letter to the Rev. Dr. Raffles on the subject of his 'Jubilee Hymn' (Boston, 1849), SAL NS 1
- PURDON, Robert Anthony The Last Vials; being a series of essays

- upon the subject of the Second Advent, 2 vols, 2nd edn (Torquay, 1848). The complete series ran Feb. 1846 to April 1873. WCB 48s where S. Purdon
- PUSEY, Edward Bouverie Daniel the Prophet: nine lectures, delivered in the Divinity School of the University of Oxford, 3rd edn (Oxford, 1869)
- PYM, William Wollaston Good Things to Come. Lectures delivered during Lent 1847, at St. George's Bloomsbury, by Twelve Clergymen of the Church of England with a preface by Rev. W. W. Pym (1847)
- * The Restitution of All Things (1843), WCB 48s, 51
- Thoughts on Millenarianism (Hitchin, 1829)
- * Warning to the Church, in the Last Days, WCB 47, 48s, 51. Almost certainly
A Word of Warning in the Last Days (1836)
- * Questions on the Book of Daniel, EAH 24, 64. See BLISS, S.
- REED, Stephen Points and arguments on the great prophetic periods...maintaining their termination in 1850 (New York, 1850)
- REES, Arthur Augustus, Minister of Bethesda Free Chapel, Sunderland The Rise and Progress of the heresy of the Rev. J. H. Prince (Weymouth, 1846)
- Religious Census, 1851 See MANN, H.
- Report of Proceedings See Evangelical Alliance
- RHIND, William G. The Tabernacle in the Wilderness, the shadow of heavenly things. Three engravings, coloured and inlaid with gold, silver and brass, according to the texts of scripture: with explanatory notes (1842)
- The High Priest of Israel (1847)
- ROBJENT, Richard Drewett The Bristol Non-conformist Sunday services (Bristol, 1881)
- ROGERS, George Minister of Albany Chapel, Camberwell Lectures on the Book of Revelation, 4 vols (1844-51), AH 2 Oct.1844,p.47
- * A Reply to the Advent Brethren, with Observations on the Prophecies of Daniel, and the Present Aspect of the Study of Scripture Prophecy (1844)

- ROLLO, J. B. Mormonism Exposed, R LDSMS, 2 (1841) 43-48, not otherwise traced
- RUST, Cyprian T. 'The Brethren': An Examination of the Opinions and Policies of the New Sect usually denominated 'Plymouth Brethren' (Colchester, 1844)
- SADLER, John Rights of the Kingdom (1649)
- SCOTT, James The Catechism, or the Prophetic System of the Scriptures (np, nd), not traced, EAH 64
- A Compendious View of the Scriptural System of Prophecy; showing the principal errors of the anti-millenarian and modern millenarian systems: with an examination into the prophetical dates, and the signs of the present times (Edinburgh, 1844)
- SCOTT, Robert Free thoughts on the Millennium; or, Grand Sabbatical Year of the World (New York, 1834)
- * Second Advent Hymns EAH 8. Probable identification: Second Advent Hymns: designed to be used in prayer and camp meetings (Boston, JVH, 1842)
- * Second Advent Library One complete set, EAH 64
- * Signs in the Heavens, Sun, Moon, and Stars Not identified. EAH 24, not G, nil
- * Signs of the Advent at Hand Not identified. EAH 8, not G, nil
- SIRR, Joseph D'Arcy A Dissuasive from Separation: a letter to some Wavering Friends at Westport (Dublin, 1836)
- Reasons for Abiding in the Established Church, a letter to the Rev. Charles Hargrove (Dublin, 1836)
- SMITH, Reginald Southwell The French Revolution of 1848, viewed in the light of prophecy. Second edition with a few words on Chartism (1848)
- SMITH, Thomas Eight Lectures on Prophecy, see TROTTER, William
- SMITH, Uriah The Prophecies of Daniel and the Revelation, revised edn (Mountain View, CA, 1944)
- SOLTAU, Henry William The Tabernacle, the Priesthood and the Offering (np, nd)

- SPRY, William Jacob Bishop Colenso, and the Descent of Jacob into Egypt: an Analysis (London, Manchester, Dublin, Devonport, Tavistock, 1862), BM
- Modern Scepticism Examined: Two Orations delivered in the Temperance Hall (Devonport, 1854), BM
- SPRY, William Jacob
with M. McIntyre Engineers' Examiner and Guide to Promotion (Devonport, nd), BM
- STANLEY, Arthur Penrhyn The Life and Correspondence of Dr Thomas Arnold D.D., 8th edn, 2 vols (1858)
- STARK, Robert Explanation or Key to the Diagram showing the Order and Course of Divine Revelation in the Scriptures (1851)
- A Divinely Commissioned Ministry. With a Memoir of the author (London and Plymouth, 1858)
- STORRS, George The Bible Examiner: containing various prophetic expositions (1843), SAL 33
- An Inquiry: are the souls of the wicked immortal? In three letters (Montpelier, VT, 1841, Albany, NY, 1842), 4th edn (New York, 1856)
- STUART, Moses Hints on the Interpretation of Prophecy (Andover, MA, 1842)
- * Surely I Come Quickly See A Letter to Everybody, WCB 48, 51, EAH 8
- THOMAS, John Chronikon Hebraikon; or, the Chronology of the Scriptures as contained in their prophetic numbers and dates (Birmingham, 1917)
- THOMPSON, Edward,
Preacher at Brunswick
Chapel, St Marylebone The Wrathful and Merciful Visitations of God towards His people, with especial reference to England (1839)
- THORNE, Samuel Ley Obedience to the call of God: a funeral sermon on the death of Wm. O'Bryan (Plymouth, 1868)
- THORP, William The Destinies of the British Empire, and the duties of British Christians at the present crisis, 2nd edn (1839)
- THRUSTON, Frederick England safe and triumphant: or Researches into the Apocalyptic little book, 2 vols (Coventry, 1812)

- TODD, James Henthorn Discourses on the Prophecies relating to Antichrist in the writings of Daniel and St.Paul...1838 (Dublin, 1840)
- TOWNLEY, Robert
late Minister of
St Matthew's, Liverpool The Second Advent of the Lord Jesus Christ a Past Event, considered in its relation to the Doctrines of the Apostolic Succession, the Restoration of the Jews, the Resurrection of the Dead, etc. (1845)
- TOWNLEY, William Gale,
Rector of Upwell
with Wesley A Sermon occasioned by the late Chartist Movements (1839)
- TREGELLES, Samuel P. The Hope of Christ's Second Coming: How is it taught in Scripture? And Why? (Worthing, 1926)
- TROTTER, William,
and Thomas Smith Eight Lectures on Prophecy delivered in... York (London and Bristol, 1851). Other titles by Trotter and Smith printed on back cover of Eight Lectures
- TYSO, Joseph An Elucidation of the Prophecies (1838)
- A Defence of the Personal Reign of Christ, or strictures on 'Millenarianism Unscriptural', by Geo. Hodson, 'The Personal Reign of Christ', by O.T.Dobbin, 'The Second Advent' by G.H.David, 'The Millennium a Spiritual State', by J.Jefferson, 'Lectures on the Second Advent', by Dr. Urwick, etc. (1841)
- VANDERKISTE, R. W. Notes and Narratives of a six Years' Mission, principally among the dens of London (1852)
- * Visions of Daniel and John harmonized See HERVEY, N.
- * Voice of Alarm 5,000, SAH 48, not G, nil
- WARD, Henry Dana * Israel and the Holy Land: 'The Promised Land.' In which an attempt is made to show that the Old and New Testaments accord in their testimony to Christ and his celestial kingdom... (1843), SAL 24, WCB 47, 48, 51, EAH 8, 24
- * Watchman's Alarm, or Millennial Crisis Gunner announced this as a larger work to be published shortly in Britain. MC 13 June 1844, p.384, not G, nil
- WEDGEWOOD, Ralph The Book of Remembrance (1814)
- WEETHEE, Jonathan
Perkins * His writings were circulating among Millerites in Somerset in 1848. Only two

- titles dated 1849 and 1850 recorded in Gaustad, p.285. Possibly articles in the Advent Herald were the writings referred to in AH 4 Nov.1848,p.110
- WELLCOME, Isaac C. History of the Second Advent Message and Mission, Doctrine and People (Yarmouth, ME, 1874)
- WHITE, Ellen Gould The Great Controversy between Christ and Satan (Mountain View, CA, 1888, 1945)
- Life Sketches of Ellen G. White (Mountain View, CA, 1915)
- Testimonies for the Church, 9 vols, bound as 4 (Mountain View, CA, 1942)
- WILSON, John of Cheltenham The Book of Inheritance: and Witness of the Prophets respecting Ephraim and the raising up of Israel (1846)
- Lectures on Ancient Israel, and the Israeli-tish Origin of the Modern Nations of Europe (Cheltenham, 1840)
- WINFIELD, Robert Sketches on Important Subjects Connected with the System of Christianity (Derby, 1845)
- * WINTER, Robert * Chronological Chart of the World containing the prophetical and symbolical figures of the visions of Daniel and John,, together with a diagram of prophetic calculation, from the reign of Nebuchadnezzar to the end of the world. Sold in Maidenhead, Reading and Bristol, 1844, nil, AHMA 9 Jan.1845,p.88
- WOOD, Walter
Minister, Elie, Fife An Affirmative Answer to the Question: Will the Second Advent of Our Lord be Premillennial? (1846? 1851), EAH 23 Dec.1846,p.45
- * Word of Warning This was a series of 36 titles, single sheets 8" x 5" printed on both sides. A sheet of this name bound with Robert Atkins, A True Picture, q.v., PFF, IV, 709-10, ST 30 Aug.1843,p.9, not G. 4,000 of this title printed in England, SAH 48
- WRIGHT, Joseph Israel in China: An Enquiry (1842)
- YATES, Richard The Church in Danger: A statement of the cause and of the probable means of averting that danger attempted, in a letter to the Right Hon. Earl of Liverpool (1815)

Periodicals

- * The Advent Harbinger and Midnight Alarm R.Winter, ed., 1 vol, Maidenhead, 21 Aug.1844 - 9 Jan.1845, continuation of Second Advent Harbinger
- The Advent Harbinger and Bible Advocate Joseph Marsh, ed., Rochester, NY, 1849-53, Continuation of Advent Harbinger, continued as Prophetic Expositor and Bible Advocate
- * The Advent Herald J.V.Himes, ed., Boston, MA, 1844-73, continuation of Signs of the Times
- Adventist Review continuation of Advent Review and Sabbath Herald, to present
- * The Advent Message to the Daughters of Zion Mrs C.S.Minor, Miss B.C.Clemons, eds, Boston, 1844, EAH 8
- The Advent Mirror A.Hale, J.Turner, eds, Boston, 1845
- The Advent Review James White, ed., Auburn, NY, 1850, continued as Second Advent Review and Sabbath Herald
- The Advent Review and Sabbath Herald James White, ed., 1850, continuation of above, continued as Adventist Review
- * The Advent Shield and Review J.V.Himes, S.Bliss, eds, Boston, 1844-45, EAH 8, 24, 64
- The Advent Testimony J.B.Cook, ed., Boston, 1846
- The Advent Watchman W.S.Campbell, ed., Hartford, CT, 1850-51
- The Ambassador of the Coming Age R.Roberts, ed., 5 vols, Birmingham, 1864-68, continued as The Christadelphian
- The Anti-Annihilationist Josiah Litch, ed., 1 vol., Philadelphia, 1844
- The Athenaeum 1828-1921
- The Bible Advocate Hartford, CT, 1846-48
- The Bible Advocate and Precursor of Unity David King, ed. (Churches of Christ), 3 vols, 1847-49, discontinued through lack of funds
- The Bible Examiner George Storrs, ed., Philadelphia, NY, 1843, 1846, 1848, 1849-52
- The Biblical Inquirer Robert Stark, q.v., an important contributor, Exeter, London, 1 Mar.1844 - 1 Jan.1846
- The Biblical Repertory and Princeton Review Vols 16-43, Princeton, NJ, 1844-71

- The Biblical Review and Congregational Magazine 6 vols, 1846-50
- The British Critic, Quarterly Theological Review 34 vols, 1812-43
- The British Harbinger 5th series, vols 19-23, 1866-70
- The British Magazine and Monthly Register of Religion and Ecclesiastical Information 36 vols, 1832-49
- The British Millennial Harbinger James Wallis, ed., 14 vols, Nottingham, 1848-61, continuation of Christian Messenger and Family Magazine, continued as
- The British Millennial Harbinger and Family Magazine 4th series, vols 15-18, 1862-65, continued as British Harbinger
- The Children's Advent Herald J.V.Himes, ed., Boston, 1846-47
- The Christadelphian 1869- see The Ambassador of the Coming Age
- The Christian Joseph Barker, ed., 4 vols, Newcastle, London, 1844-48
- The Christian Advocate 49 vols, Birmingham, 1921-79
- The Christian Guardian and Church of England Magazine 41 vols, Bristol, 1809-48
- The Christian Herald A Monthly Magazine, Chiefly on Subjects Connected with Prophecy, 5 vols, Dublin, 1830-35
- The Christian Intelligencer G(eorge) B(rown), ed., Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1847
- The Christian Messenger and Family Magazine 3 vols, 1845-47, (vol.1 is from May 1845 - Dec.1845; vols 2 and 3 are for the calendar years 1846 and 1847), continued as British Millennial Harbinger
- The Christian Messenger and Reformer 9 vols, 1837-45 (Vols 1-6 contain twelve monthly numbers, beginning in March one year and ending in February the next; thus vol.1 Mar.1837 - Feb.1838, vol.7 Mar.1843 - Dec.1843, vol.8 Jan. 1844 - Aug.1844, vol.9 Sept.1844 - April 1845), continued as Christian Messenger and Family Magazine

- The Christian Observer and Advocate 74 vols, 1802-74 (vol.6 not published)
- The Christian Remembrancer: or the Churchman's biblical, ecclesiastical and literary miscellany: a monthly magazine and review, vols 1-8, 1819-40, vols 9-56, 1840-68
- The Church of England Magazine 79 vols, 1836-75
- The Church of England Quarterly Review 44 vols, 1837-58
- The Congregational Magazine NS, 9 vols, 1837-45, continued as Biblical Review and Congregational Magazine
- The Day Star E.Jacobs, ed., Cincinnati, OH, 1845-46
- The Day Star: A monthly magazine devoted to the revival of religion, James Byres Laing, MA, ed., 17 vols, Aberdeen, 1845-61; 2nd series, 3 vols, 1862-64; NS, 10 vols, 1866-76
- The Ecclesiastical Observer Vols, 24-28, 1871-75, continuation of British Harbinger
- The Eclectic Review 3rd series 16 vols, 1829-36; NS, 28 vols, 1837-50
- The English Review: or Quarterly Journal of Ecclesiastical and General Literature, 19 vols, 1844-53
- * The European Advent Herald J.V.Himes, ed., 1 vol., 1 July 1846 - 12 June 1848
- The Evangelical Magazine and Missionary Chronicle Vols 21-30, 1813-22; NS, 36 vols. 1823-58
- The Expositor and Advocate J.Marsh, ed., Rochester, NY?, 1855-57, continuation of Prophetic Expositor and Bible Advocate
- * Extra Herald EAH 64, probably Advent Herald, Boston q.v.
- The Gospel Banner Benjamin Wilson, ed., Geneva, IL, c.1846, nil
- The Gospel Banner and Biblical Treasury, containing the writing of Alexander Campbell and his coadjutors in America and Great Britain, 4 vols, London and Nottingham, 1848-51
- The Herald of the Bridegroom Boston, 1844

- The Herald of the Kingdom and Age to Come a periodical devoted to the Interpretation of 'The Law and the Testimony' and to the Defence of 'The faith once delivered to the Saints', John Thomas, ed., 11 vols, Westchester, NY, 1850-61?
- The Home Missionary Magazine 27 vols, 1820-46
- The Inquirer 3 vols, 1838-40
- The Investigator or Monthly Expositor and Register on Prophecy, John Aquila Brown, ed., 5 vols, 1831-36
- The Jewish Expositor, and Friend of Israel Vols 1-13, 1816-30; NS, vols 1-3, 1831-33
- The Jubilee Standard S.S.Snow, B.Mathias, eds, New York, 1845
- The Jubilee Trumpet L.Caldwell, ed., Cincinnati, OH, 1843
- The Jubilee Trumpet S.S.Snow, ed., New York, 1843
- The Latter-Day Saints Millennial Star Manchester, 1840-41, Liverpool, thereafter
- The Literalist Orrin Rogers, ed., 5 vols, Philadelphia, 1840-42
- The Messenger of Mercy and Old Methodist Revivalist John Stamp, ed., 1844
- * The Midnight Cry J.V.Himes, New York, 1842-44, continued as Morning Watch
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